AFRICAN STUDIES

(Formerly Bantu Studies)

VOLUME 11. No. 2 -- JUNE 1952

THE STUDY OF AFRICAN ABILITY [1]

S. BIESHEUVEL

PART I

THE INTELLECTUAL POTENTIALITIES OF AFRICANS

Some problems in the study of interracial mental differences

SYNOPSIS

The paper reviews the state of African society and shows that it provides a natural laboratory for students of the social sciences.

Of overriding importance is the study of the constitutional ability-endowment of African peoples, for this will prove a limiting factor to the kind of society that can be maintained on the African continent.

The recent UNESCO declaration which recognizes the existence of ethnic groups that differ genetically, outruns the psychological evidence by claiming that these differences are limited to the physical and physiological domain. There is evidence that environmental factors greatly influence intellectual development, both quantitatively and qualitatively. But it has not been proved that all differences vanish when environment is held constant. The many factors known to influence the development of intelligence are reviewed, and it is concluded that neither in Africa nor in America can environmental influences be equated without comparing unrepresentative samples.

A South African control experiment is described which illustrates these difficulties. Equality in some tests (Porteus Maze, Passalong, Reasoning) could be attributed to unrepresentative sampling. Inequality in others (tests of spatial relations like Kohs Blocks, Cube Construction) could be due to specific cultural circumstances which remained uncontrolled.

A design for another experiment is outlined which would study the range of gains and changes that could be brought about by manipulating African living conditions. It has been shown, for American communities, that extreme environmental conditions may influence the I. Q. by $\pm$ 20 points. A check on African populations would be useful; but this line of study would leave the question of qualitative differences unanswered.

THE STATE OF AFRICAN SOCIETY

THE INDIGENOUS population of Southern Africa is in a state of transition from a primitive tribal culture to Western civilization, which presents unequalled opportunities for research to the social scientist.

In the Union of South Africa, where the

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is made to the National Institute for Personnel Research, C.S.I.R. for a grant towards the publication of this paper.

The paper was delivered, by invitation of the University of London, at the Institute of Education in January 1951.

African has progressed furthest on this inevitable road to a new form of social organization, all stages of detribalization can be found. In the native areas, and in far away villages of the mountain regions or the Low Veld, one encounters native kraals outwardly little different from what they were a century ago, but for the presence of inevitable tinware, or of occasional bits of European furniture; but the life which goes on in these villages has been much changed by the frequent and prolonged absences of a proportion of the men to work in the European cities or the mines, by the very gradual infiltration of a money economy, by the loss of many of the traditional functions of the tribe exercised through its headmen and chief, and by a change in the context in which the community functions and which has rendered many of its former practices obsolete.

Elsewhere villages or domestic units are established on European farms. In return for the right to dwell there, to obtain pasture for their cattle and to plough land on which mealies can be sown which provide the family with its staple diet, labour is rendered by the whole family for a portion of the year. Here the tribal tie becomes more tenuous, the contact with European civilization closer. This process is taken a step further in African villages which are nearer to European towns, and which in outward appearance have lost all traditional character, though some tribal customs linger on and some local government may be exercised through the chief and his council. It reaches its final conclusion in the native township or location, generally established by the local European municipal authority. Here the African becomes a town dweller and, except for some very few beliefs and customs, loses all connection with his tribal and rural past. It is estimated that only just over three million Africans now live in the reserves, the remainder living on farms, in town locations scattered throughout the country, and in the big cities. As many as a million may live in compounds, which are single quarters provided for migrant labour by large employers, both in the country on farming estates and in the towns. A proportion of these labourers retains a foothold in the reserves, where their wives and children look after their cattle and cultivate their small plots.

South Africa therefore presents a varied pattern of African ways of life, with a small number at one extreme living in an almost undisturbed tribal state, an equally small number at the other extreme — teachers, clerks, clergy, professional and business men — as European householders subject only to the restrictions imposed on their race, and the vast mass in various stages of rural detribalization or urban assimilation. This pattern does not repeat itself in identical form outside the borders of the Union of South Africa. There is less compound and location life elsewhere, many more villages and a few large African towns in which tribal culture is little disturbed. There are also some towns of a nondescript type with a business fringe which has a generally Western character, with groups of educated Africans who lead a European way of life and a sprinkling of European businessmen and administrators who live in reserved residential areas.

Education is on the whole very unevenly distributed, the overwhelming proportion of the African population in the southern part of the continent still being illiterate. In the Union, 640,638 African children were at school in 1947, out of an estimated potential schoolgoing population of nearly two million. Of these, 50.8% were in the sub-standards, only 2·6% in the secondary school.[1] The ritualistic tribal education which emphasizes the inculcation of social obligation, and which culminates in the initiation school, can still be placed in vivid contrast with scholastic education which takes only a very small percentage to the graduate stage and to professional training. Some of the latter may be drawn from the very tribal areas where the initiation school still flourishes and may in fact have shared in its rituals. Alongside these contrasting systems there is a third state of no systematic education at all, neither in social duties nor in scholastic skills, encountered particularly in the large urban locations where domestic circumstances are often such that parental precept and example are either unavailable or of the wrong kind.

Contacts with the material aspects of western

civilization are widespread, but vary in intensity and variety from country to country, and within each country according to the degree of industrialization. Among mine labourers, who on the whole tend to be drawn from the remoter parts of the Union and other African territories, there are many who have not before handled a shovel and who have to be taught the simple manipulative dexterities involved. Among one batch of recruits a nomadic bushman turned up, whose previous experience appeared to be limited to shooting wild game with bow and arrow. On the other hand, there are those who drive locomotives and motorcars, operate industrial machinery and handle tools as skilled craftsmen. There are still many dwellings where the only objects in use are those fashioned by the users themselves, in time-honoured ways; but through the migrant labourer and the trading outpost, a diffusion of European manufactured articles is gradually displacing the products of domestic crafts, which thus tend to fall into disuse. Only hut building remains a universally practised skill, except in municipal locations where houses of the Western type are provided. More recently, as a result of the housing shortage, "shanty towns" have sprung up where the Africans erect their own shacks with the aid of ingenuity and anything they can lay their hands on, from grass and hessian to scraps of wood, fabric and corrugated iron. On the whole it appears that the transition from a primitive to a Western culture has shifted the emphasis from simple constructive to far more diverse manipulative activities; but because the domestic environment of even the more well-to-do African families in the towns is simple, if not crude, the background against which manipulative and perceptual habits develop in early childhood cannot be compared with that of the average European household.

Within these divergent, often exceedingly unstable milieus, the patterns of interpersonal relations and the beliefs and sanctions which governed their establishment and maintenance, are all in a state of flux. Tribal customary law remains in use for many purposes, but loses its compelling force when the community life of which it is the expression crumbles away. New needs and new relationships arise, to which the older rules are inapplicable. When the observance of ritual practices weakens, sanctions requiring ritual reinforcement lose their effectiveness. Yet because the passage from one culture to another does not affect all aspects of behaviour alike, and can never do so where there is a social colour bar and differential legislation, gaps are left in the process of reorientation which either become cultural voids or are filled with strange mixtures of the old and the new. That unstable personalities and serious social maladjustments must result from this is obvious.

This thumb-nail sketch of African society is too brief and superficial to do more than illustrate the point that Southern Africa to-day is a vast natural laboratory for the study of the human mind and behaviour, and of the factors which influence their development. Variations in environmental conditions are far more extreme than anything to be found in the average Western community. No laboratory could reproduce their range and pervasiveness, nor could any artificial manipulation of the environment act with the compelling force of social reality. Unfortunately, this absence of artificiality also implies absence of experimental control over the many influences which are simultaneously at work in shaping the African mind. This greatly complicates the task of the research worker, who can observe the phenomena but is often unable to disentangle cause and effect relationships.

MAJOR RESEARCH PROBLEMS

The general psychologist is provided with material for the study of a number of basic problems. The most fundamental of these is the way in which the cultural environment determines mental development. This enquiry gives rise to a series of more specific questions, such as the extent to which sensory acuity, or apperceptive set, or manipulative habits reflect their environmental context. He may find it possible to distinguish levels of mental integration or qualitative differences in the manner in

which reality is apprehended or interpreted, to correspond with prevailing trends or degrees of complexity in the cultural environment, very much as one distinguishes successive stages in genetic development. These studies may have far-reaching effects on his understanding of the growth and functions of the mind generally. So far, Western man has served as the subject for psychological studies, and our knowledge of the mind and behaviour of Homo Sapiens are stated entirely in terms of these findings. The fact that the investigators were themselves part of the culture which determined the course of development and the character of the phenomenon which they studied, must have influenced the formulation of laws, the description of typical processes and the setting of developmental norms. By studying African behaviour not primarily comparatively, but as a phenomenon per se, in terms of the stimulus-response relationships which occur within African ecology, the psychologist is able to step as it were outside his own cultural preconceptions and see the growth of the mind in a new light. Some examples of this kind of study will be given in a following paper.

For the social psychologist, the disintegration of the highly organized African tribal culture and the consequent period of cultural formlessness and partial assimilation, have provided ample material for the study of patterns of culture, personality development, values, sanctions, beliefs, individual and group attitudes, inter-group tensions and their resulting conflicts.

Changes in beliefs and attitudes, as well as the frustrations and tensions which result from the increasing instability of the social environment are bound to influence the frequency, content, and form of mental maladjustments. This should give the clinical psychologist new clues to the etiology of effective disorders and psychoses, leading to a deeper understanding of these phenomena not only in primitive communities, but in society generally.

To the personnel psychologist opportunities are provided to study the determinants of occupational skills in a conclusive fashion. He can investigate the course of their development in persons with identical tribal origins and varying degrees of cultural contact, from those who have had no previous work experience other than the chores of primitive village life, to those who at an early age have become familiar with some of the material aspects of Western technology, and have learned to handle its contrivances. There is also the important question of work attitudes, so foreign to the tribal pasturalist, so vital to the modern community trying to maintain its standard of living in the modern competitive world. The development of the incentives to work can be studied from their basic origins in simple physiological wants and a few customary practices related to group well-being and reinforced by ritual, to their multiple determination in the African industrial worker, who has acquired new material needs and social allegiances, and has become responsive to quite different anxieties and sanctions.

Similar questions arise in the field of educational psychology. To what extent is the development of primary mental abilities and scholastic skills dependent on antecedent and concurrent cultural circumstances ? Will a child's capacity to absorb the principles of geometry be influenced by its having grown up in an environment where perception and thought proceeds along holistic lines and the need for analysis and abstraction rarely arises ? There is also the vital question of the origin of interests and their effect on educational progress. In its approach to the humanistic aspects of education, to literature, history, philosophy, the African child encounters little that is familiar or that has reference to the circumstances of his own life and that of his group. If he loves Shakespeare, it is more for the beauty of the language of the plays, than for the significance of the scenes and personalities they portray or the ideas which they propound. Whither to lead these wanderers in a cultural no-man's-land, how to establish sensitivity towards the values of a society which bans the African from full membership, is an educational problem of some moment. Its resolution should provide new insight into the manner in which higher learning will take root and show spontaneous growth, and into the attributes of

the individual and his social environment which will condition this development.

Implicit in the many problems we have thus lightly touched on and greatly surpassing them all in importance is the question whether Africans possess the basic potentialities to enable them to respond adequately to the vast changes occurring in their environment and upbringing. The author has elsewhere put this question more specifically as follows:

> "Are their intellectual capacities, manipulative dexterities and temperament make-up suitable for the demands which would eventually be made on them? Given adequate environmental stimulation, have African racial groups proved equal to Western Europeans in respect of general educability, vocational training, capacity for sustained effort and acquisition of character qualities considered desirable by Western standards? If there are inequalities in ability, are they quantitative only, relating to the proportion of Africans who reach and exceed the European group mean for intellectual and temperamental attributes which otherwise display the same pattern or profile in the two racial groups? Or are these differences of a qualitative type, relating to the organization of the psyche as a whole and to the pattern of abilities and personality qualities which, regardless of cultural conditioning, tends to emerge as constitutionally characteristic of each race?"[2]

This formulation implies a point of view towards the scientific controversy regarding the differences between races, which requires to be fully stated, as it is basic to the exposition of the problem of African abilities, to be presented in these papers.

ARE THERE RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN HUMAN ABILITY?

It will be useful to take as our starting point the recent declaration by UNESCO on the scientific validity of the concept of race and its bearing on the problem of human equality.[3]

The declaration states that all men belong to the same species, "Homo Sapiens". This species "is made up of a number of populations each one of which differs from the others in the frequency of one or more genes". This differentiation results from "the operation of evolutionary factors ... such as isolation, the drift and random fixation of the material particles which control heredity (the genes), changes in the structure of these particles, hybridization and natural selection". The genes "responsible for the hereditary differences between men, are always few when compared to the whole genetic constitution of man and to the vast number of genes common to all human beings regardless of the population to which they belong. This means that the likenesses among men are far greater than their differences". The declaration advocates the use of the term "ethnic group" to designate a population which differs biologically from another, on the grounds that the term "race" has been used in popular parlance to distinguish between groups which differ in cultural attributes, "which have no demonstrated genetic connection with racial traits".

The declaration next proceeds to define the nature of the genetic characteristics, on the basis of which ethnic groups can be differentiated. In so far as they are relevant to our discussion, these definitions are stated as follows:

(1) "In matters of race, the only characteristics which anthropologists can effectively use as a basis for classifications are physical and physiological".

(2) "According to present knowledge there is no proof that the groups of mankind differ in their innate mental characteristics, whether in respect of intelligence or temperament. The scientific evidence indicates that the range of mental capacities in all ethnic groups is much the same".

(3) "Historical and sociological studies support the view that genetic differences are not of importance in determining the social and cultural differences between different groups of *homo sapiens* and that the social and cultural *changes* in different groups"

> in the main, been independent of *changes* in inborn constitution. Vast social changes have occurred which were not in any way connected with changes in racial type".

These formal statements are preceded by detailed discussion which is rather more cautious. It is admitted that "individuals in all ethnic groups vary greatly in endowment", but that at least in so far as intelligence is concerned, "given similar degrees of cultural opportunity to realize their potentialities, the average achievement of the members of each ethnic group is about the same". "Wherever it has been possible to make allowances for differences in environmental opportunities (intelligence) tests have shown essential similarity in mental characters among all human groups". The possibility that there might be inborn temperamental differences between ethnic groups is not excluded but "there is evidence that whatever group differences of the kind there might be are greatly overridden by the individual differences, and by differences springing from environmental factors". "As for personality and character, these may be considered raceless". Finally there is also the guarded statement that "the scientific material available to us at present does not justify the conclusion that inherited genetic differences are a major factor in producing the differences between the cultures and cultural achievements of different peoples or groups".

It will be noted that there is nothing in this carefully worded scientific statement to warrant the headline in a subsequent press release [4] that it "brands 'race' (as) a social myth". It used the words "social myth" only to contrast the actual biological phenomenon of race with the popular conception of it. Race as a biological fact is accepted, but limited to a few physical and possibly some slight temperamental differences. The declaration recognizes that variations in mental endowment between individuals have, other things being equal, a genetic basis. It therefore propounds the view that the evolutionary processes whereby populations became biologically differentiated have only affected the basis of physical characteristics, and that the genes determining mental characteristics were excluded from their operation. Yet in view of the importance of mental and temperamental qualities for successful adjustment to the environment, one would have expected the same processes to have played some part in determining the psychological characteristics of races living for centuries under particular environmental conditions. One can find striking evidence of the physical differentiation of races in Africa. Thus for example the exclusive Watussi tribe, who live in Ruanda, a mandated territory adjoining the Eastern Belgian Congo, are characterized by their tallness, many of the men being seven feet high or over. By contrast we find in the dense forest of the Belgian Congo, on the equator, the pygmy negritos whose average height is from 4 feet 9 inches to 4 feet 6 inches for the two sexes. Is it likely that circumstances which brought about such pronounced genetic effects in the physical components of the human organism left the mental components completely unaffected ? There appears to be no reason why this should have happened, and none is in fact advanced by the writers of the UNESCO declaration. They merely reply that psychological studies have failed to reveal racial mental differences and that "the range of mental capacities in all ethnic groups is much the same".

It is our contention, however, that in making this statement, the scientists concerned permitted their belief to part company with facts. It is not correct to say that "wherever it has been possible to make allowances for differences in environmental opportunities the tests have shown essential similarity in mental characters among all human groups".[5] It has indeed been proved that in addition to heredity, a variety of environmental factors such as nutrition, material environment, parental attitude and cultural background can determine the growth of intelligence. It can also be shown that the measurement of intelligence can be influenced by choice of test medium and its cultural associations; attitude of the subject to tester and test situation; method of test administration; educational level and temperament make-up of testees. But no-one has so far been able to show that when all these factors are held con-

stant in representative population samples, all differences vanish.

THE USE OF THE CONTROL GROUP TECHNIQUE IN THE STUDY OF INTERRACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ABILITY

In Africa control experiments have so far proved inconclusive, for a number of reasons:

(1) It has not been possible to find a culturally neutral test medium. When obviously inappropriate material depending on scholastic skills or Western cultural associations is eliminated, one generally has to fall back on pictorial or diagrammatic pencil and paper tests, or on performance tests involving form relations. We shall show in a following paper that there are serious objections to the use of this material, the significance of which is far more dependent on culturally established habits than is commonly recognized. Sometimes one finds that the symbolism through which the test problems are stated is not understood, at other times that the skills required for their solution have not been equally developed in the cultures concerned.

(2) The attempt to equate test procedures for groups which differ widely in culture has never proved entirely successful. As soon as one departs from verbal or pencil and paper tests, administration becomes difficult to standardize. Translation of a standard test patter into the vernacular does not always meet the case, because suitable words or concepts may be lacking or the right shade of meaning may not be equally well conveyed in different translations. Other devices, such as mime, apart from being rather artificial, are limited in their application to test procedures which can be overtly demonstrated. Uncomprehending staring into space followed on our attempts to convey by means of mime to groups of primitive Africans that they had to memorise the connection between the shapes and symbols displayed before them.

(3) The equation of motivation and attitude towards the test situation is particularly difficult. To those reared in our competitive Western society, tests and examinations are a familiar institution and although individuals may be nervous when tested, they also know how to gear themselves to the pace and state of concentration which are required for an all-out effort. Primitive men generally lack the mental set, habits of response and competitive outlook to do themselves justice in so abstract and individualistic an enterprise. The closer they move to Western culture, the more aware they become of the issues involved in testing, but this does not necessarily mean that their attitude then becomes more favourable. In South Africa, all psychological tests have in fact become suspect among educated Africans, because they fear that test results will be used to prove their intellectual inferiority. They know that their mean test performances are generally below those of representative white samples, and they are consequently reluctant to participate in any enterprise which can be so readily turned to their disadvantage. The former attitude of curious co-operation or passive compliance therefore tends to change into one of anxious tension, antagonism, or even refusal to do the tests. Performances are bound to be affected by such adverse motivation. One suspects at times that some candidates, when refusal is not practicable, merely go through the motions of being tested, in order that they may account for a poor test performance by saying that they worked under protest and therefore did not try.

It may be thought that no psychologist would be guilty of testing under such conditions, but evidence to the contrary is available. Thus a report by a Portuguese investigator who studied the intellectual level of some native tribes by means of the Yerkes Point Scale, revealed that some of the subjects, agricultural labourers who

were tested during their daily rest, were slow to respond. One who refused to answer only changed his attitude when a threat was made that the Chief of the Post would be called in. The report states rather ingenuously that "had they been examined in a better frame of mind, some of their scores would perhaps have been higher".[6]

(4) The cultural influences of early childhood, being exercised during the most impressionable years, must have a considerable effect. Because they are qualitatively different for tribal Africans and whites, there is no means whereby these influences can be held constant. Comparisons are possible only in the case of the thoroughly detribalized, whose social life and interpersonal relations approximate to those of the white community which has brought about their detribalization. In Africa it is impossible to tell to what extent such a group would be a genetically representative sample of the larger population from which it was drawn.

(5) There is the further difficulty that even in the case of those who have thoroughly assimilated Western culture, the mean socio-economic status is always well below that of the white community amongst which they dwell. Hence in order to equate environmental factors, an unrepresentative white sample must be chosen.

(6) Nutrition is known to influence the growth of intelligence, particularly through the effect of certain vitamins, like nicotinic acid and riboflavin, on the development and function of the nervous system. In many regions, African diets are lacking in these substances, either through habit or force of circumstances.[7,8] The major effects may occur pre-natally or post-natally during the first two years of life, through deficiencies in the diet of the pregnant or lactating mother. Pellagra, a deficiency disease with neural and mental manifestations, is common, particularly in its subclinical form. The extent of its effects on the mental efficiency level of those communities amongst which it occurs is unknown, but it might well be considerable.

The extrinsic effects of malnutrition on the measurement, as distinct from the growth of intelligence must also be taken into account. A feature of life in certain African areas is the occurrence of "starvation periods", which reduce the pace of life to a low ebb, in order that energy may be saved for essential activities.[9] Elsewhere underfeeding occurs as a more or less permanent dietary condition. In both cases, test performance may be disturbed, because the necessary interest and energy are lacking.

The nutritional condition of Africans and whites are therefore so different in their essential features, that the possibility of equating them for representative samples is excluded. This applies even to urban Africans in town locations, who for a variety of reasons have not fully acquired European dietary habits and whose nutritional standard often leaves much to be desired.

An investigation conducted by the writer in Johannesburg on the determinants of test performance in an African and a European group provides a practical example of the impossibility of establishing satisfactory control even for an urbanized group of Africans.[10] Two groups of schoolgoing children between the ages of 12 and 15 were chosen, there being 125 cases in each group. The African sample was probably representative of the urban native population, perhaps slightly superior in that they were all fairly advanced in school whereas many African children, even in the towns, do not go to school at all and the majority do not get very far. The socio-economic status of the European sample, though superior to that of the African group, was well below the average for the white Johannesburg community as a whole. Their mean intelligence quotient on the S.A. Group Intelligence test was 97. A group could have been found which approximated more closely to the African sample in socio-economic

status, but only at the cost of rendering it wholly unrepresentative of the European population in respect of milieu, way of life and innate ability. Though the experimental and control groups were similar in respect of maturation, having been matched for age and sex, they were grossly dissimilar in educational status. The difference between the means was more than one school standard, but as the level of instruction in African schools is much lower, the effective difference was probably about three years of schooling. Had education been equated, the control of the age factor would have been upset. Alternatively one might have handpicked a native group to match the European sample both for age and education, by selecting cases in the large rural mission high schools, which draw their pupils from all over the country. This would have given an unrepresentative elite group with very heterogeneous environmental background, including a number of tribal cases, such as sons of chiefs and headmen. Nutrition could not be controlled except in so far as both groups were fed at school, the Africans at a more modest level. Apart from differences in the material environment, there were also differences in the educational status of the parents and the personal relations between parents and children which were left out of account.

The tests used were Koh's Blocks, Cube Construction, Alexander Passalong, Porteus Maze, and Match Test, the latter being a performance version of tests like number series and figure classification. A simple block-building test was given as a buffer to establish rapport and to make the child conversant with the test situation. The tests were given individually by a sympathetic woman tester, who used either English or Afrikaans as a medium, the African children being sufficiently conversant with these languages to understand instructions fully.

A comparison of test performances was made, though this was not the primary object of the investigation. There was no significant difference between the means on the Passalong, Maze and Match tests (the critical ratios being respectively .4, .3 and ·6) but in all three the scatter of African scores was much greater. This is understandable in view of the fact that there is no residential stratification according to class or income group within the urban native locations, whereas the white children all came from a district in which lower middle and working class predominated. The distribution of scores therefore bore out our suspicion that the African group was the more representaive of the two. In the Koh's Blocks and Cube Construction tests, the African mean was significantly below the European mean (critical ratios being 2·97 and 3·8 respectively). As the two groups are level on the other tests, and the European sample is not quite up to the standard of the European population, one might be justified in concluding that Africans are inferior in the ability to manipulate spatial relations, particularly in three dimensions, and that this inferiority has a genetic basis. Yet the possibility cannot be excluded that this difference would vanish if African children had more opportunity in their homes to get thoroughly acquainted with the conventional spatial arrangements which are an essential part of our daily activities (block games, arrangement of furniture, positioning of pictures on wall, laying of the table, lay-out of reading matter, etc.). The control conditions in this experiment, which were the best that could be devised under the circumstances, were therefore such that scientifically valid conclusions could not be drawn about the differences in ability between the two racial groups.

Though the problem of control is somewhat simpler in the case of the American negro, where there is a much greater overlap in socio-economic status, the difficulty of matching all environmental factors without rendering samples unrepresentative still remains. The writer knows of no study where complete control was achieved, or where a sufficiently large range of activities was selected to justify generalizations both about the "power" of the mind and the primary mental abilities which constitute the qualitative aspects of intelligence.

The probability that we shall be able to achieve an ideal control experiment is at the moment very small. It may in fact never be practicable. One has in mind the continued observation and study of a fairly large group of families, housed

in a model village attached to some large industrial undertaking where the men would be employed as labourers and operatives. If large enough, the group could probably be made representative of the South African native population, which at the moment has not yet become economically stratified in such a way that those in semi or unskilled work have a somewhat lower natural endowment. The village would have to be provided with welfare and medical services, a nursery and primary school, recreational facilities and effective housing, allowing for privacy and segregation of domestic functions.

The experiment would consist of controlling certain aspects of the nutrition of pregnant and lactating mothers as well as of the babies from birth onwards. Some attention would be paid to the material aspects of the home, to ensure that adequate manipulative and discriminative opportunities were present for the children as they grew up. Attendance both at a nursery and a primary school would be compulsory. The quality of tuition at these schools would be controlled by the appointment of properly qualified teachers. From time to time during the experiment developmental tests would be applied. The nursery school would provide adequate opportunity for observational studies, which could be preceded by similar studies in the home. The parents too would be tested or assessed, in order that their contribution to the child's environment in terms of interests, vocabulary, direction, stimulation, habit and character building could be determined. An estimate of their intelligence would have to be made, even if only on a relative basis, to control parental contribution to basic level of intelligence. Ultimately, extensive comparisons could be made in respect of a variety of mental functions, with African children in the same environment who did not participate in the experiment and with children of representative African groups, living in uncontrolled urban, rural and tribal environments. The final comparison would be with a representative white population sample, in which case one would have to assume that the better control and satisfaction of the basic needs in the environment of the African experimental group would make up for the superior material conditions and better parental education of the white controls.

Actually the possibility of conducting such an experiment is not as remote as it might seem to be at first sight. There is a trend towards the establishment of married quarters for Africans in some South African industries, and this would probably include the type of services we have in mind. A beginning has also been made in establishing a township for planned industrial development in one of the native areas, which is subjected to some government control, and where social services far superior to what is usually provided, are available. With the co-operation of one or other of the authorities involved it might eventually be possible to create circumstances favourable for conducting an experiment of this kind. Even then the difficulties would be considerable; for not only would it be necessary to obtain the wholehearted co-operation of sufficient families to obtain a representative sample, but as the experiment would extend over a period of from fifteen to twenty years, population movement would no doubt prove one of the most troublesome disturbing factors, which might well render its completion impossible.

FORMULATION OF A HYPOTHESIS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH INTO RACIAL DIFFERENCES IN ABILITY

The conclusion that a strict application of the control group technique is not practicable is supported by Gunnar Myrdal, who is one of the scientists to whom the UNESCO declaration was submitted for criticism before its publication. In "An American Dilemma", a comprehensive study of the negro problem in America, he wrote: "It is possible that we shall never know if there are hereditary differences in psychic traits between the average Negro and the average white man. The fact of being a negro is so interwoven with all other aspects of a negro's life that to hold constant these other aspects (e.g., economic and social status, education and so on) would be equivalent to holding the racial factor constant also."[11]

This is a scientific stalemate with which the research worker cannot remain satisfied. In his desire to end it, Myrdal proceeded to argue as follows: "The inferences to be drawn are, on the whole, negative as far as hereditary differences are concerned: it has not been possible to prove beyond doubt the existence of any differences at all in innate intelligence between American Negroes and whites; neither has it been possible to prove, on the other hand, that no differences exist. In regard to environmental factors the inferences are, however, positive: it has been proved that environmental differences account for large differences in the measured intelligence performances."[12] This, he concludes, increases "our right to feel confident in the results of the scientific trend, on the part of scientists, toward finding no psychic differences between Negroes and whites."[13]

This statement on the negative nature of the inferences to be drawn about hereditary differences would be warranted only if the available evidence showed that :

(i) after manipulation of the hereditary factor no change occurred in test performance:
(ii) if, with heredity held constant, manipulation of the environmental factors accounted for the entire range of differences observable between racial groups.

Actually there is no such evidence. The heredity factor can only be varied through genetic experiments, which are hardly possible with human subjects. The alternative approach, which varies heredity by comparing fully representative samples of different ethnic groups, under constant environmental conditions, requires the kind of control experiment which we have already described and found impracticable.

The effect of varying the environmental factor with heredity held constant could be determined by studying the differential development, under various African and European cultural conditions, of large numbers of African identical twins, drawn from a random sample of the African population. There are so many difficulties in the way of this experiment that it is unlikely to be attempted in the foreseeable future.

Myrdal appears to have based his statement on the erroneous assumption that because the inferences with regard to environmental factors are positive, those with regard to heredity must be negative. Heredity and environment are complementary forces. There is no opposition between them in nature, but only in the arguments of man. There is no reason why both should not be involved in determining the observed differences between races, in the same way as both are known to contribute to individual differences in ability within racial groups. Hence one cannot accept Myrdal's proposition that "when we approach these problems on the hypothesis that differences in behaviour are to be explained largely in terms of social and cultural factors, we are on scientifically safe ground. If we should, however, approach them on the hypothesis that they are to be explained primarily in terms of heredity, we do not have any scientific basis for our assumption."[14]

The only scientifically valid standpoint, which does not outrun the known facts, and which neither prejudices nor prejudges future findings, we hold to be the following: That observed African abilities are different from, in some respects superior, in others inferior to those of Western man; that environmental, more particularly cultural circumstances have greatly contributed to bring about these differences, which are sometimes artifacts of the method of measurement, sometimes the result of social conditioning; that it is not known at present from what genetic origins the manifest mental attributes of Africans have developed, nor whether this development would have equalled that of the average European if environmental circumstances had been comparable; that a new orientation in research, and the utilization of different experimental and control techniques will be necessary, in order to provide conclusive answers.

A new approach was tried out by the writer some years ago, based on the findings obtained from the more general but analogous study of the relative importance of nature and nurture as

determinants of individual differences in intelligence.

In some of these studies heredity was held constant by measuring the differences in intellectual development between monozygotic twins reared under divergent environmental conditions. In other studies the intelligence of foster children was correlated with a number of attributes of the foster home, and the differences in mean I. Q. were measured between samples brought up by foster parents with superior, average and inferior parental attitudes, education and personality make-up. A summary and critical appraisal of the voluminous literature on the subject has been presented by Woodworth.[15] A brief analysis of the more important investigations was also included in "African Intelligence".[16] This led to the conclusion that a social environment three standard deviations above or below the community mean could raise or depress the I. Q. by as much as 30 points above or below what it would have been, had environmental circumstances been normal.

The repetition of similar investigations on African children was not practicable at the time. Instead, a detailed study was made of the average African domestic environment, in relation to those aspects which could significantly influence the growth of intelligence. An attempt was thereafter made to compare the typical African urban and rural domestic environments with that considered average for the white population and to assess the divergence between the two in respect of each significant causal factor. The argument thereupon proceeded as follows:[17]

On the evidence presented regarding the African social environment, it "could be held to lie more than 3 S.D's below the mean European social environment. This alone . . . can be responsible for a decrement of from 10–30 points in the mean African I. Q. Let us take 20 points as an average. Unsuitability of test and test situation could make this decrement even larger, 30 points being by no means too generous an allowance. If the observed African I. Q. (which was 69 in an investigation by Fick[18] where controls were grossly inadequate) were therefore corrected for the adverse influences to which both the growth and the measurement of African intelligence are subjected, the estimated mean African I. Q. would come to approximately one hundred. . . . The writer is not prepared to put forward the statement as anything but a hypothesis. The evidence makes this hypothesis a likely one, far more likely in fact than that propounded by Fick. The calculations and estimates on which it is based are, however, to some extent artificial and the results might turn out differently in practice."

For practical as well as theoretical reasons, this line of enquiry was not pursued any further. Experimental verification would have been impracticable under South African social conditions. Comparatively few African homes are in a position to take foster children and the colour bar precludes the placing of African children in the homes of white foster parents. The range of African urban homes would also have been too narrow to provide the necessary differential stimulation, and tribal domestic environments could not have been included as they are culturally too different for quantitative comparison and grading.

The theoretical objection relates to the use of the I. Q. as a means of studying interracial differences in mental ability. This objection raises the complex problem of the nature of intelligence. The controversies between the various schools of factor theory have not yet been resolved; yet they have implications for the practice of intelligence testing which are particularly important in the case of cross-cultural comparisons and which will radically affect the interpretation of test results. The concept of the I. Q. presumes the existence of a general intellectual factor in respect of which people differ quantitatively. It can be measured by means of a wide variety of tests, provided the mental functions involved in the performance of these tests are not too dependent on specific skills. Though "g" purports to be a general factor, and therefore enters into all mental activities whatsoever, some are far less determined by it than others and would therefore not be good media for its measurement. The best esti-

mates of "g" have so far been obtained from tests constructed on the Binet pattern or from pencil and paper group tests involving verbal analogies, opposites and classifications or their pictorial equivalents; verbal, diagrammatic or arithmetical reasoning problems; and number series, story completion and instructions tests. Most of these tests are unsuitable for primitive peoples. On the other hand, tests which are usable, mostly performance tests like cube construction, formboards, mazes, Koh's blocks, assembly and sorting tests, are to a greater or lesser extent measures of specific abilities rather than of general intelligence.

But even if it were possible to obtain an adequate measure of "g" from tests of this kind, it would tell us next to nothing about the qualitative differences in mental ability which might be found to occur between races. The comparison of cultures generally reveals noteworthy differences in the sphere of skills, crafts, arts and language habits. These should be the first to be investigated, and for this purpose, multiple factor analysis is likely to prove more useful. Instead of one index, which does not refer to any form of intellectual activity, but only to an underlying capacity, we would obtain a large number of measures which, though admittedly also stated quantitatively in terms of factors, would lie much nearer to concrete behaviour in that each would refer to a specific mental ability. By combining these abilites into patterns or profiles one can take qualitative differences in intelligence into account that are not revealed by the I. Q. This does not mean that we consider Thurstone, the proponent of primary mental abilities, to have provided a more valid theoretical exposition of the nature of intelligence than Spearman who formulated the concept of "g" or Godfrey Thomson, who was responsible for the group factor theory. We agree with Godfrey Thomson's realistic view that "the real defence of "g" is that it has proved useful. It still remains to be seen whether Thurstone's primary factors will prove equally useful."[19] We believe that for the purposes of interracial comparisons, this will turn out to be the case. The usefulness of "g" was established chiefly in relation to the measurement of scholastic educability, where its level was generally rendered in the form of an I. Q. Other indices had to be used to predict occupational success and to diagnose potential talents. The I. Q., however, overshadowed these indices in the importance which was attached to it as providing an evaluation of the intellectual worth of man. When dealing with the abilities of races we cannot confine ourselves to those aspects of mental function and behaviour which happen to be rated highly in Western culture. Consequently studies which yield a profile of abilities rather than an index of the hypothetical power of the mind are to be preferred.

[*To be concluded*]

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(TO PART I)

1. Cook, P. A. W. "*Non European Education*"; Handbook on Race Relations in South Africa. Oxford University Press, Cape Town, 1949, p. 366.
2. Biesheuvel, S. "*The Measurement of Intelligence and Aptitudes of African Peoples*"; Communication E(n)4, African Regional Scientific Conference, Johannesburg, 1949.
3. "*Statement by Experts on Race Problems*"; UNESCO/SS/1, Paris, July, 1950.
4. *UNESCO Background Paper* 104; Paris, 19th July, 1950.
5. *UNESCO Declaration;* Op. Cit.
6. Augusto, Antonio "*Intellectual Level of some Native Tribes*"; Communication E(n) 12, African Regional Scientific Conference, Johannesburg, 1949.
7. Hailey. "*An African Survey*"; Oxford University Press, 1938, p. 1122.
8. Biesheuvel, S. "*African Intelligence*"; S.A. Institute of Race Relations. 1943, Chapters XII and XIII.
9. Richards, A. I. "*Land, Labour and Diet in Northern Rhodesia; an Economic study of the Bemba Tribe*"; published by the Oxford University Press for the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, London and New York, 1939.
10. Biesheuvel, S. "*Psychological Tests and their application to Non-European Peoples*"; The Year Book of Education, Evans Bros. Ltd., London, 1949.
11. Myrdal, Gunnar. "*An American Dilemma*"; Harper Brothers. New York, 1944, Vol. I, p. 152.
12. *Ibid.* p. 147.
13. *Ibid.* p. 146.
14. *Ibid.* p. 149.
15. Woodworth, R. S. "*Heredity and Environment*"; Social Science Research Council, New York, 1941.
16. Biesheuvel, S. "*African Intelligence*"; S.A. Institute of Race Relations, 1943, Chapters VI and VII.
17. *Ibid.* p. 223.
18. Fick, M. L. "*The Educability of the South African Native*". South African Council for Educational and Social Research, Pretoria Research Series, No. 8, 1939.
19. Thomson, G. H. "*The Present Position and the Problems confronting us*"; Symposium on the Factorial Analysis of Ability". Brit. J. of Psychology, V, XXX, pt. 2, 1939, p. 106.

A SWAHILI TAKHMIS

FROM THE SWAHILI-ARABIC TEXT

LYNDON HARRIES

SYNOPSIS

Traditional Swahili verse shows the marked influence of Arabian prosodic forms. The following poem is illustrative of a popular verse-pattern borrowed from Arabian models. The original manuscript was written in the Swahili-Arabic script, from which the transliteration is made. The subject-matter is especially fitting in an African context, though prayers in verse-form for rain are included within the Arabian literary tradition.

In traditional Swahili literature, the *takhmis* verse-form was only one of a number of verse-forms adopted from Arabian poetry by Swahili poets. In Arabian prosody, *takhmis* is the form of poetical composition in which a poet composes verses of five single hemistichs, rhyming *aaaab*, the first three of which are of his own composition while the remaining two lines are adopted from the work of an earlier poet. The first three lines usually serve as a contemporary frame for the older piece and as a gloss or exposition of its theme.

Not every Swahili *takhmis* conforms to this principle of dual authorship, though the earliest extant work of this type is based upon some earlier poem or poems. The *Takhmis* written by Sayyid Abdallah bin Nasir[1], the author of *Al-Inkishafi*, (A.D. 1710–1810) is based upon traditional songs concerning the Swahili hero, Liongo Fumo wa Bauriy, and more especially upon the Dungeon Song. Then there is the *Takhmis* of Abd-ul-Baki al-Faruki[2], based upon the *Hamziya* of Muhammad bin Said al-Busiri[3]. Another *takhmis*, written in the nineteenth century, is that of Muhammad bin Abdul-Aziz al-Warraki, based upon a poem in praise of the Prophet by Muhammad bin Abubakar al-Witri[4].

In other Swahili *takhmisa*, although the poets have conformed to the Arabian five-line pattern, their verses are not of dual authorship, but the whole poem is the original composition of one author. Some poets have adopted the Arabian device of composing verses in such a manner that one, or more, of the lines in each verse begins with a sequent letter of the Arabic alphabet. 'Umar b. Amin b. 'Umar b. Amin b. Nadhir al-Ahdal (A.D. 1800–1870) was particularly fond of this practice. In his poem, *Waji-waji*,[5] he begins the fourth line of each verse with a sequent letter. In another poem by him, *Dura Mandhuma*,[6] the first three lines of each verse begin with the same sequent consonant and also combine in sequence the vowels *fatha*, *kasra* and *dhamma*. Sheikh Abdallah b. Sogoro, c. A.D. 1880, in his prayer

[1] A scroll MS of this poem, entitled *Utenzi wa Liongo*, was presented by the Rev. W. E. Taylor to the British Museum, No. Or. 4534, and is the only Swahili MS there. This *takhmis* was first published in translation by Steere in *Swahili Tales*, London, 1870. An edition from collated MSS was published by Meinhof in 'Das Lied des Liongo', *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenen-Sprachen*, bd. XV, pp. 241–265.

[2] MS copy in Library of SOAS.

[3] An original MS of the *Hamziya*, dated 1749, is in the Library of SOAS.

[4] MS copy in Library of SOAS.

[5] 'A Poem from Siu', an edition of *Waji-Waji*, by Lyndon Harries, in *Bulletin of SOAS*, Vol. XIII, Part 3, 1950.

[6] 'Strung Pearls', an edition of *Dura Mandhuma*, by Lyndon Harries (awaiting publication in Bulletin of SOAS).

Ai Rabbi, nipo mlangoni, begins the first line of each verse with a sequent consonant, commencing the alphabetical arrangement in the seventh verse.

The *takhmis* which follows is transliterated from a copy[7] by Muhammad b. Abubakar al-Bakariy, copyist to the Rev. W. E. Taylor. It is a copy of a poem entitled *Duwa ya Kuombea Mvuwa* (Prayer of Intercession for Rain) by Sheikh Muhy-ed-din b. Sheikh b. Kahtan al-Waili, (A. D. 1798–1869), who was Kadhi of Zanzibar. The "Kazi Muhiyy el Din" honourably mentioned by Burton[8] for his proficiency in Arabic is doubtless the same as the author of this *takhmis*. He was also responsible for writing the copy of *Kitab as-Sulwa fi-Akhbar Kulwa*[9], usually called the Chronicles of Kilwa, which the Sultan of Zanzibar, Barghash b-Sa 'īd, presented to Sir John Kirk, who in turn presented it to the British Museum.[10] On a manuscript note on one of the blank leaves of the book, Sir John wrote: 'Notes on the History of Kilwa, by Sheikh Moheddin of Zanzibar, 1862[11]. The work was probably a compilation from some ancient record closely resembling, if not identical with, the *Chronica dos Reys de Quiloa*, found by the Portuguese'.[12]

Each line of the *takhmis* verse-form in Swahili is of fifteen *mizani* or syllables, with a *kituo* or caesura upon the sixth syllable. In Sheikh Muhy-ed-din's poem the sixth syllable carries an internal rhyme in each line. This is the special feature of the poem. The transliteration is not exact, since an exact rendering of the poem from the Swahili-Arabic script would make the text unintelligible for the average student of Swahili[13]. But the transliteration is a true one in the sense that the right equivalents for the Arabic letters have been provided, according to normal Swahili practice.

I am grateful to my colleague Mr. D. Cowan for identifying some of the Arabic words not used in everyday Swahili speech on the coast.

DUWA YA KUOMBEA MVUWA

1 Nanza kubutadi, kwa isimu yake Karima,
Kuomba Wadudi, mtukufu mwenye adhama,
Tumwa Muhamadi, nasalia kiumbe chema,
Nipate miradi, ufurahi wangu mtima.
Siku ya tanadi, waja asi wakilalama.

2 Na alize thama, wateule wenye ajiri,
Wenye sifa njema, Simba zake tumwa Bashiri,
Na siku ya kwima, kondo zetu ndio shururi,
Ndio wenye shima, waketele dhuli na ari,
Siku ya kiyama, waokene na Jahanama.

3 Nikomele tama, dibaji sitaikithiri,
Nina mambo mema, nayawaza kiyafikiri,
Mbwene makulima, yadhiika kwa nyingi hari,
Naomba rehema, kwa wahabu mwenye amuri,
Nituze mtima, kwa rehema yake Karima.

[7] In Library of SOAS, No. 53500.
[8] Burton, *Zanzibar*, Vol. I, p. 423.
[9] Published in Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1895.
[10] Or. No. 2666 in Department of Oriental Manuscripts. It is written in Arabic.
[11] Rieu, *Catalogue, Suppl.*, p. 391.
[12] De Barros, *Asia*, Vol. I, Ch. viii. 6.
[13] The reasons for not providing an exact translitération of Swahili-Arabic texts *in toto* are more fully set out in my article, 'Strung Pearls', *idem*.

4 Ai Subuhana, Mola wetu uso shirika,
Ndiwe Rahamana, Muwawazi usio shaka,
Warehemu wana, na wazee wenye mashaka,
Waijua sana, hali yetu kati ya chaka,
Juwa la mtana, kula siku lisilo koma.

5 Tu waja dhaifu, mlangoni pako twemele,
Kwa nia takafu, shida yetu Rabi yondole,
Hatuna wokofu, mtatuzi uyatatule,
Kwako ni khafifu, ni mafupi yangawa male,
Mwingi wa lutufu, muwawazi wawi na wema.

6 Rabi tuawaze, tungaasi kwa rehemayo,
Situpatilize, kwa makosa tuyakosayo,
Tupe barakaze, Muhamadi ndiye tumwayo,
Na wote nduuze, waombezi na mambo sayo,
Utunyesheleze, vuwa nyingi yenye rehema.

7 Tuletee vuwa, tondolee nyota na juwa,
Ndiwe mwenye kuwa, ufishao na kufufuwa,
Hali waijuwa, huhitaji kuarifiwa,
Hasha kuemewa, ni amuri kuni ikawa,
Wala kutendewa, Jala Rabi mwenye adhama.

8 Wengi waayisi, kwa mateso kuwa tawili,
Wana wasiwasi, kwa madhambi yao thakili,
Rabi tunafisi, muungwana uso mithili,
Mwengi wa ukwasi, tupe nasi utujamili,
Na yawe mapesi, iwe kuni yako kalima.

9 Saya tutakayo, hako mtu katu muweza,
Wala mwenye nayo, ela wewe mwenye maiza,
Na tutamaniyo, kutindiwa ni yetu aza,
Kwa yote twambayo, tutendee ili majaza,
Tushukuru kwayo, ifurahi yetu mitima.

10 Muomba Wadudi, havi shaka twaa yakini,
Apata muradi, na matako yake moyoni,
Pindi akinadi, ja Ayubu, Rabi, masani,
Katu kamurudi, mja kwake mwenye maani,
Hata Namurudi, kafiri mbi ashosilima.

11 Kwa yote masimu, twakuomba Mola Karimu,
Kwanza ni Adamu, mtumeo na muungamu,
Na wote kiramu, wandikao kula kalamu,
Loho na kalamu, na zuozo zote kadimu,
Na wenye masimu, mawalii na waja wema.

12 Rabi tutubie, ya nusuha yenye nadama,
Utughofirie, kuu dhambi iwe lamama,
Nawe unenee, uduuni yako kalima,
Tutawasalie, kwa isimu yako adhama,
Dua naipae, na kabuli ije kwa hima.

13 Duwa naitimu, kwa hamudi na taadhima,
Na iwe naamu, na kabuli ije kwa hima,
Wapate naimu, na ajiri wenye kusoma,
Sala na salamu, na mbawazi zendee tumwa,
Na wote kiramu, sahabaze wenye dhimama.

14 Rabi takabali, na kabuli iwe ajili,
Yote tayamali, tutakayo kwa tasihili,
Hatuna amali, tutendayo yenye kabuli,
Ela kwa ajili, na rehema zako Jalali,
Ndio tawasuli, maombezi yetu wafama.

15 Twataka amani, ya ghadhabu zako Jabari,
Huku duniyani, na kiyama siku ya nari,
Tutie peponi, tusakini katika dari,
Utupe hisani, wake wema wa kukhitari,
Nao wilidani, watupambe mbele na nyuma.

16 Na mwenye kuomba, kutendewa ni yake jaza,
Hata mwenye kwimba, jaza yake yawa kutuzwa,
Siuze muomba, muungwana mwenye maiza,
Wallahi mi namba, aombae Mola Aziza,
Kula matilaba, yuwapewa na nyingi nema.

17 Nami ningatunga, siyajuwi ni kutamani,
Sijuwi kupanga, lulu ngema na marijani,
Hatauwa shanga, makuruto usho thamani,
Kwa nyote malenga, muonapo penye lahani,
Kamuwi wajinga, mufanyapo mwapata mema.

18 Na mwenye maani, ya utungo wa tawasuli,
Jina tabaini, mufahamu yake asili,
Ni Muhiyidini, bunu Shekhe mja dhalili,
Ni bunu Kahtani, jadi yake bunu Waili,
Ndio Arabuni, waungwana asili njema.

A PRAYER OF INTERCESSION FOR RAIN

1 I begin to write, by His name the Bountiful One,
To beg the Beloved, the Glorious and Most High;
And for the Prophet Muhammad, I pray also for the best of beings,
That I may obtain my desire, and be glad in my heart,
On the day of resurrection, when disobedient servants moan.

2 Together with his kinsfolk, the chosen who have reward,
Who have good fame, the lions of the blessed Prophet,
And who in the day of challenge, in our battles with evils,
Are the ones of quality, refusing humiliation and disgrace,
Who on the day of resurrection, are saved from Hell.

3 I have come to a stop, and will not increase the preface,
I have some good matters, which I ponder and think about,
I have seen the plantations, being ruined by drought,
I ask for mercy, from the Great Giver who keeps the law,
That I may rest my heart content, by the mercy of the Generous One.

4 O ye the Glorious, our Lord who has no associate,
You are the Beneficent, the undoubted Disposer,
Have mercy on the children, as well as on the troubled elders,
You are well aware, of our position amidst the drought,
The sun throughout the day, every day without stopping.

5 We are weak mortals, at your door we stand,
With one intent, our trouble, Lord, remove,
We have no salvation, do ye undo what is entangled.
For you these are light matters, they are small though for us they are big,
O full of kindness, you are Disposer to both good and bad.

6 O Lord, dispose us well, though we have rebelled, do it of thy mercy,
Do not take vengeance on us, for the wrongs we commit,
Give us his blessings, Muhammad who is indeed your Prophet,
And those of all his brethren, for us beggars who ask for such,
Cause the rain to pour down for us, an abundance of blessed rain.

7 Bring the rain for us, take from us the thirst and the sun,
You are the Self-existing One, who puts to death and who revives,
You know our condition, you do not need to be told,
Nor ever to be discommoded, you have only to command and it is done,
Nor are you dependent on others, Most Glorious and Powerful Lord.

8 Many are weak in body, because of the prolonged suffering,
They are in despair, because of their weighty sins,
Lord, save us, O Lord of incomparable rank,
O Most Rich, grant us our request and be kind to us,
And lighten our burdens, let it be done by your word of command.

9 For these things we want, there is no one at all who is able,
Nor any who possesses them, except you the All-powerful,
And what we long for, is the cessation of our torment,
For all that we say, grant us these things as favours,
That we may be grateful for them, and our hearts be glad.

10 He who supplicates the Beloved, there is no doubt you can be sure,
Gets his purpose, and the wishes of his heart,
Should he call out, like Job, Lord, I am in difficulties,
Never will He refuse, who comes to Him for any purpose,
Even Nimrod, the evil infidel who never became Muslim.

11 By all who are highly named, we beg you, O Generous God,
First by Adam, your prophet and confessor,
And by all the blessed, who record every word from on high,
By the tablet and the pen, and all your ancient writings,
And by the famous, the saints and the good servants.

12 Lord, we repent our ways, with real and true contrition,
Grant us forgiveness, let our great sin be our lament,
For you have said, Give me your requests, that is what you said,
We now supplicate, by your exalted Name,
Let the prayer ascend, and your acceptance come quickly.

13 Let the prayer be complete, by praise and glory,
Let it be Yes, and sanction come quickly,
That they may receive grace, and rewards, those who read,
Let prayer and peace, and compassion be for the Prophet,
And for all the blessed, his companions who have the promises.

14 O Lord, do accept, and let acceptance come quickly,
Favour us in everything, in what we want and that quickly,
We have no good deeds, nothing we do has your approval,
But for your sake, and by your mercies, O Lord,
This is the supplication, our true prayers.

15 We ask for peace, from your wrath, O Powerful One,
Here on earth, and at the resurrection, the day of dread,
Place us in Paradise, let us rest within that roof,
Give us favours, choice women and good,
Together with boy-servants, to adorn us before and behind.

16 And for the one who begs, his reward is the granting of his wishes,
Even for the singer, his reward is to be presented with gifts,
Let alone the supplicator, of the noble and all-powerful God,
By God, as for me I say, he who begs of God Most High,
Every request, he is granted with much grace.

17 And though I do compose, I know not the art, it is only a desire,
I do not know how to arrange, the good pearls with the coral,
I only choose beads, that are smooth and worthless,
And for all ye minstrels, when you see a place where there is a mistake,
Correct the foolish, when you do this you are rewarded.

18 And he who had the idea, of writing this composition of supplication,
I will mention the name, that you may know his origin,
It is Muhy-ed-din, son of Sheikh, a humble being,
Son of Kahtan, his ancestry is Bin Waili,
It is in Arabia, free men of good origin.

GLOSSARY

1. *nanza kubutadi*, lit. I begin to begin. The verbal *–butadi* or *–btadi* is employed exclusively in Swahili in the introduction to poems, from Ar. abtada. The full form of the first verbal is *naanza*, but elision for the sake of the metre is common in Swahili poetry.

nasalia kiumbe chema, *–salia*, pray for; if the verbal is identified as the Applied form of *–saa*, remain over, then the meaning would be, I remain a good creature. *kiumbe*, creature, cf. *–umba*, create, shape, fashion.

tanadi, cf. Ar. *tunādī*, you call; the day when God calls souls to judgment. *asi*, for *waasi*, rebels; Ar. *asi*.

2. *alize thama*, *ali*, also *aali*, family, race, kin; *–ze*, possessive enclitic; *thama*, alike, equally, also, Ar. thamma.

ajiri, reward, Ar. *ajr* (*un*); in modern Swah. *–ajiri*, hire, engage for wages, *ijara*, wages.

siku ya kwima, lit. the day of standing, in this context of standing in battle.

kondo, war/s, now an obsolete word.

shururi, evils, Ar. *shurūr*, pl. of *sharr*.

shima, quality, Ar. *shīma*. Note that in this line the nasal of *ndio* is not syllabic, though in ordinary speech it would be. In poetry the nasal is syllabic or not according to the metric requirement, e.g. in v. 5, the nasal in *mlangoni* and in *mtatuzi* is syllabic, but in v. 3, the nasal in *mbwene* is not.

waketele, the simple stem is *–kataa* or *–katala*, and this is the modified perfect stem.

dhuli na ari, cf. Ar. dhull, humiliation; 'ār, disgrace.

waokene na J., lit. they have saved one another from Hell; *waokene*, modified perfect stem of *–okoana*, save one another.

3. *nikomele tama*, *–koma*, cease, come to an end. Modified perfect stem. *tama*, Ar. tamma, it is finished.

kiyafikiri, for *nikiyafikiri*. The subjectival concord is frequently omitted in poetry.

4. *Ai Subuhana*, cf. Ar. Allahu subhānahu, God, glory be to him.

muwawazi, Disposer of events, in Ar. al-Muwazzi; note also in Swah. *–awaza*, or *–awadha*, allot, arrange, dispose.

juwa la mtana, for *jua la mchana*, lit. the sun of the daytime, or, freely translated, the sun at its peak.

5. *twemele*, modified perfect stem of the old form *–ima*, stand. *yondole*, for *uyaondoe*, remove them.

mtatuzi, entanglement, in mod. Swah., *mtatizo*; *–tatua*, disentangle.

6. *nimafupi yangawa male*, lit. they are short though (for us) long; note the old stem *–le*, long, and in the next line the stem *–wi*, bad, which is no longer used in Swahili.

lutufu, charm, kindness, Ar. lutf.

situpatalize, for *usitupatilize*, causative of the applied form *–patilia* of *–pata*, get.

sayo, demonstrative of reference, for *hayo* in Zanzibar dialect. The whole poem follows the literary conventions of the Kiamu dialect.

utunyesheleze, a double causative. *–nyesha*, rain, is the causative of *–nya*, of rainfall, be discharged; *–nyesheleza* is the causative of the Applied form of *–nyesha*.

7. *mwenye kuwa*, the existing one; *kuwa* is the infinitive of *–wa*, be.
ufishao, for mod. Swah. *ufishaye;* the relative concord *–o*, used either for singular and plural in Class I is typical of Kiamu.
kuemewa, for mod. Swah. *kulemewa* or *kuelemewa;* elision of *–l–* is frequent in Kiamu.
kuni, the Ar. imperative, kun, Be!
wala kutendewa, lit. nor to be done to, for, on behalf of, i.e. God acts and needs no one to act for Him.
Jala Rabi, cf. in Ar., *Jalla Rabbī*, my Lord is Glorified.
8. *waayisi*, they are weak; in mod. Swah. *ajizi*, e.g. *Chakula hiki hutia ajizi maungoni*, This food makes the body slack or weak.
tawil, in Ar. ṭawīl, long.
thakili, in Ar. thaqīl, heavy.
tunafisi, for mod. Swah. *utunafidhi*, save us.
utujamili, cf. in mod. Swah. *–tajamali*, do a favour to; Ar. *jamīl*, kind actions. It is common to observe transposition of vowels and substitution, as *–i–* for *–a–* and *–u–* for *–a–* and vice versa in Swahili words borrowed from Arabic, e.g. *kabuli* (v. 12) for *kubali*.
yako kalima, your voice. The possessive comes before the nominal, a reversal of the normal order, but quite common in Swahili verse. kalima, in Ar. means word.
9. *hako*, Kiamu negative for *hakuna*, there is no.
katu, not at all, absolutely, Ar. qaṭ'an, at all, absolutely. The context gives the negative implication here.
aza, torment, Ar. adhā.
10. *havi shaka*, for mod. Swah. *hakuna shaka*, there is no doubt.
twaa yakini, lit. take proof.
pindi akinadi, lit. at the time when he calling out.
masani, for Ar. massanī (I-durr), It has touched me.
maani, from Ar. ma'ānī, meanings, ideas, pl. of ma'nā, cf. Swah. *maana*, meaning, purpose, intention.
Namurudi, is Nimrod of the Bible, who is associated in Muslim legend, as in Haggada, with the story of the childhood of Abraham. The Qurān does not mention him by name, but the legend is richly developed in Ṭabari. Namrūd has Abraham thrown into a fire, but it becomes a place of coolness. An angel keeps Abraham cool, at which Namrūd marvels like Nebuchadnezzar at the preservation of the three young men at the fiery furnace (Daniel, III, 24 et seq.).
kafiri mbi, cf. Ar. kāfir, infidel; note that the dependent word with stem *–wi*, bad, wicked, is in Cl. 9.
ashosilima, for mod. Swah. *asiyesilimu*, who did not/does not become a Mohammedan.
11. *masimu*, the famous; prefix of Cl. 6 is used with modified form of *isimu*, a name.
kiramu, the generous ones, from Ar. kirām, pl. of karīm.
loho, tablet, Ar. lawh, a reference to the guarded tablet or Book of Life.
zuozo, for mod. Swah., *vyuo vyako*, the enclitic *–zo* is possessive.
kadimu, ancient, from Ar. qadīm.
mawalii, saints, Ar. walī, saint.
12. *nusuha*, probably related to Ar. nusūh, pl. of nash, good advice.
nadama, repentance, Ar. nadāma.
lamama, the exact meaning here is obscure, for there appears to be no Arabic equivalent, neither is this word known in Swahili. It may be a scribe's error for *lalama*, lament.
unenee, perfect of *–nenea*, speak to, say to, or, rebuke, scold.
uduuni, from Ar. A'ṭūnī, lit. Give me.
tutawasalie, perfect of *–tawasalia*, supplicate, cf. *tawasuli*, supplication.
13. *naitimu*, for mod. Swah. *na ihitimu*, let it be completed.
taadhima, glory, Ar. ta'zīm, glorifying, magnifying.
dhimama, promises, conscience, from Ar. dhimam, pl. of dhimma.
14. *wafama*, true, faithful, from Ar. wafā.

15. *wilidani*, lit. boys, Ar. wildān, pl. of walad.
16. *tuzwa*, get a present, passive of *–tuza*, make a present.
siuze, lit. do not ask, for *usiuze*, but formulaised to mean, let alone, to say nothing of. The reference to *mwenye kwimba*, a singer, and in the next verse to *malenga*, minstrels, would indicate that this poem was meant to be sung.
namba, for *naamba*, I say, *–amba*, speak, say.
matilaba, request, from Ar. maṭlab.
17. *ningatunga*, though I compose; note the use of *–nga–* as hypothetical infix for mod. Swah. *–nge–*.
ngema, good, for mod. Swah. *njema*.
makuruto, smooth, *–kuruta*, smooth by polishing. The verses of a poem were conventionally regarded as pearls of a coral necklace.
usho, for *usio*, negative of the relative, copula, in agreement with *shanga*, Cl. 14.
kamui wajinga, the first word here is not easily identified as the text stands. It might be read, *kamwiwa wa ujinga*, demand a debt of foolishness.

TEACHING GEOGRAPHY TO THE PEOPLES OF WESTERN UGANDA [1]

F. MUSGROVE

SYNOPSIS

The author has distinguished two major teaching problems, the first to prevent the geographical information given from being deployed to support traditional, unscientific ideas; the second, to make the new knowledge effectively displace old myths.

He has attempted to measure the effectiveness of his teaching by first investigating the field of ideas to which pupils are referring the classroom instruction, in particular the beliefs of Banyankole, Batoro and Bakonjo boys regarding the powers of the rain-man, the causes of rain, thunder and the formation of lakes and mountains; and then ascertaining how far these traditional beliefs are retained and how far rejected after varying periods of geography teaching.

Informal conversations and written exercises have provided evidence of the boys' real beliefs and doubts. The author's general conclusions are that until the middle school about a third of his pupils remain sceptical about the new teaching, and one sixth entertain the old and new explanations of natural phenomena simultaneously. Senior boys about to take the School Certificate examination have been more effectively converted, although this appears to be less from deeper intellectual conviction than from a keener perception of the type of belief fitting to their ideal of the educated man.

IN TEACHING geography to Bantu pupils in a secondary school in western Uganda, I have found two major problems. The first has been to make the information and explanations given not only understood, but to make them exclude and effectively replace the traditional lore which the pupil has inherited from his parents and elders. The second has been to make the facts and items of knowledge given support a scientific explanation of man and his world instead of being deployed to give further support to an irrational system of ideas already held. The two problems are distinct. In the first case pupils must be prevented from holding two inconsistent interpretations — the "school" and the tribal — in parallel; in the second they must be prevented from using new information to buttress old and scientifically untenable beliefs.

The technique of scholastic examinations is of little use in determining in what manner and to what ends "western" knowledge has been received. The pupil will answer the questions in the way he knows he is expected to answer them, without suggesting the doubts, difficulties and conflicts which may, in fact, be present in his mind. The East African European employer is not unfamiliar who says: "I do not care whether the boy has obtained his school certificate or not provided his English and Arithmetic are good. The possession of a School Certificate merely indicates that the boy has settled down and 'mugged up' half a dozen subjects without necessarily understanding them or making them a real part of his mental equipment." He is fond of using the word "veneer". This is an indictment which the schoolmaster must take to heart: it is his business to destroy the foundations of such a charge and to make real education coincide

[1] The opinions expressed or implied in this article are the personal ones of the author and should not be regarded as expressing the views of the Government of Uganda.

with apparent education. I have not found it possible to do this by assuming that truth will shine by its own light; it is necessary not only to present truth but to undermine untruth. The teacher's task is not only the positive one of building up new ideas, but must also be destructive, demonstrating explicitly the untenable nature of many old notions. It is not enough for him to know what the pupil writes in his exercise book; he must discover the mental field of reference to which the new knowledge is being related.

This is not an easy task if the teacher is working with remote tribes which have not been investigated by an anthropologist; and even when anthropological information is available it is not necessarily useful to the teacher: the anthropologist has not necessarily been asking the questions about a people which the teacher would ask; and moreover, secondary school pupils have already been influenced by six years' education in the primary school and may not be representative of their people: they constitute a separate group requiring special research. The teacher himself must persuade the pupils to reveal themselves. This may call for great patience, for colour suspicion may be great. General suspicions which a boy in western Uganda brings to school include a sometimes more than half-humorous suggestion that Europeans are cannibals, that they use fire-engines which the boys have never seen and of whose purpose they are ignorant, but whose red paint and red fire-buckets they can describe for predatory raids. New boys from the more sophisticated tribes such as the Batoro or the Banyoro are half-humorous in this suggestion; but it is a more serious matter for a more primitive Mwamba. Suspicion of the white man, his motives and his questions, is widespread and deep — Christianity, and education itself, are suspected as being part of the white strategy to confirm in their docility a subject people. Questions about their home circumstances — forms of wealth, means of production, local natural resources — which a geography teacher must necessarily ask when dealing with local geography, are frequently evaded and treated with marked reticence: there is no intention of revealing too much to the exploiting European. And the pupil is reticent about his attitudes because he fears that the evidence may be used against him and reprisals taken; and perhaps most compelling of all, he is afraid of incurring ridicule and the charge of being primitive and backward. It is only by establishing himself firmly in the confidence of his pupils and building up a sympathetic relationship with them that a teacher can gain the information he requires.

The facts, evidence and information which a geography teacher gives will suggest different "truths" to peoples of different cultures. The teacher cannot know what he has in fact taught his pupils until he knows the framework of ideas into which his information has been pigeonholed. To an Englishman, a recent newspaper picture of the Duke of Edinburgh being publicly and affectionately greeted by his mother-in-law on a railway platform, gives the obvious lesson of domestic harmony within the Royal Family. The same picture on view in the library of a Uganda school merely suggests to the boys who see it the immorality of that family: the Mutoro knows that it is indecent for a man to associate closely with his mother-in-law, and that he must not even take food with her. For the Englishman and the Mutoro the facts of the lesson are the same but the conclusions drawn from them are radically opposed. A teacher could use this picture to convey its true meaning only if he knew the social customs of his pupils and so was conscious that more explaining was necessary than if he were in an English school. In the same way, apparently incontrovertible knowledge in geography, which appears to a European to speak for itself, in fact needs the teacher to speak for it. I have shown pupils pictures of research workers fighting the problem of infertile African soil in an agricultural research station; but in the light of already formed convictions as to European motives in Africa, these pictures are simply taken by many as further evidence of coldly calculated European 'exploitation': the man with the microscope, of course, is looking for African gold.

Geographical knowledge is used to subserve existing convictions. At least part of our geography

teaching demonstrates the value and efficacy of "western" scientific control over the human environment; but the facts which demonstrate this are used, in practice, to strengthen convictions to the contrary — that European influence has on the whole been pernicious, and that society in precontact times exercised a more effective control over the circumstances of life. The teacher who is dealing with African geography must consider in some detail modern developments and improvements in farming, particularly in animal husbandry; and also recent population changes, growth and redistribution. In doing so I have found that my descriptive facts — of tsetse-fly control and the innoculation of cattle against disease — are merely used to lend further support to the contrary thesis already believed — that Europeans are reducing cattle numbers and innoculations are their method of doing it. In the classroom the fact of innoculation is taught, but it is related to an existing system of ideas and suppositions. The boys have been told by their parents that before the coming of the white man their great-grandfathers were prosperous and enjoyed large herds. If this is accepted, it is impossible simultaneously to accept the fact that European officers are doing what they can to improve the quality and numbers of the native people's live-stock. Until the teacher has got to grip with the background ideas and has done something to correct them, his facts will continue to be deployed to strengthen old illusions. The teacher can prevent this only when he understands what is taking place in his pupils' minds; and by associating the knowledge he is giving with knowledge given in other subjects. The biology teacher will have given an account of the function of an innoculation serum; the history teacher may have dealt with the problems of animal health which faced early white settlers such as Lord Delamere in East Africa, and possibly with improved stock-breeding methods developed in England in the eighteenth century. By a close integration of these subjects a new pattern of knowledge and ideas may be built up, each part of the pattern strengthening the other, and providing a mental structure to which latter information may be referred.

Similar difficulties are met if we imagine that the details of modern health services, improved sanitation and medical facilities necessarily explain to our pupils modern population trends; for these developments may even be regarded as the cause of alleged conditions which are the opposite of those which in reality prevail — of an alleged decrease in populations and longevity. If the boys already believe — as most of them have been taught in their homes to believe — that before the European penetration young people rarely died, the population was considerably larger and normally people lived to be 150 or 180 (and most boys will claim that they themselves remember in their early youth that the villages were more populous and there were more people of great age, and the death of a child was a great rarity), then facts about services introduced by Europeans are regarded as causing the very opposite of what has in fact happened. The European has not brought health but disease; ("Before the European there was no disease — except, perhaps, a little small-pox.") There is in particular a deep and apparently widespread suspicion of the sinister purposes of yellow fever research stations. Our facts do not speak for themselves: evidence which is conclusive in European eyes of superior western control of environment may be regarded by Africans as clear proof to the contrary.

The second major problem of the teacher is to make exclusive the western interpretation of nature which he presents to his pupils. In order to prevent a condition of "double-think" in which inconsistent beliefs are simultaneously regarded as true, it is necessary not only to present new knowledge but to make a frontal attack upon the old. The difficulty is not to make students understand a new set of facts or explanation: they can follow the description and explanation given, draw further conclusions from them and reproduce them with intelligence and accuracy. But they have not necessarily been convinced by them, or have remained only partially convinced. This "Averroism" is not, of course, peculiar to African students; Averroes himself was merely an early figure in the long line of western Christ-

ians who through eight centuries have been able without discomfort to entertain mutually incompatible idea systems even though they have not always attempted explicitly to justify a philosophy of "double truth". But it presents a problem which the teacher must face and attempt to solve.

The stories purporting to explain natural phenomena, which a boy has heard in his early youth, often remain vividly with him. Recently in the School Certificate form, after discussing the nature and cause of tropical storms, an intelligent boy from Ankole in southern Uganda (age : 18), who perfectly understood the explanations given, said : "But even now when I think of a thunder storm I think of a chicken." The association of a chicken or bird with the causes of thunder and lightning lies deeply embedded in the minds of even the most advanced of my Bantu pupils. A Muganda of equally high scholastic standing (age : 19) recently wrote an essay on the rainbow in which he recounted the story familiar in Buganda of Musoke and Namusoke, the boy and girl who attempted to drink all the water in Lake Victoria in order to recover the golden stick they had dropped into it. The stick is now identified with the rainbow, and Musoke and Namusoke are gods who, when the rainbow is in the sky, drink the rain before it reaches the ground ; and to them the Baganda may pray in times of drought that they should not drink the rain which wishes to fall. The pupil concludes his essay by saying: "I was a boy of eight when my grandfather spoke to me about the sort of schools my tribe had before the coming of Europeans. He mentioned this story as one of the studies there. I myself was taught the story so well that although I have been given the explanation of how the rainbow is formed in my science lessons, I cannot think that it is true." Such traditional interpretations of nature by schoolboys are not strictly comparable to a young English child's believing, say, that thunder is the noise of Rip Van Winkle playing skittles. The African's belief in the myth is more persistent and retained far longer : it was not entertained initially as an avowed fairy story ; and the general pattern of his native culture is not out of harmony with it. It has not been consciously relegated, as with the developing English child, onto the recognized mental plane of fantasy.

In our study of weather we introduce our pupils to the process of evaporation, cooling and condensation which results in rain. But already they have an explanation of rain and drought in the activities of the rain man. My Batoro pupils are familiar with the traditional method of preventing rain. Toro is a relatively wet district of Uganda, with about 100″ of rain distributed throughout the year. The people's concern is not so much to cause rain as to prevent it, particularly when beer is being made, since this is done in the open and requires one or two dry days. The usual procedure is that a senior member of the family rises early, unseen by the family, makes a circle of ashes in the courtyard and a cross of ash within the circle. A hoe is placed at the centre of the cross and the man urinates at this point. The man must remain naked throughout, he must not wash afterwards until the rain comes again, and must return to his bed unseen.

My Bayankole pupils are familiar with a more specialized practitioner who makes and prevents rain. The *Omwigi w'e njura* has usually inherited his craft from his father. In order to prevent rain he needs various plants and grasses : *orushebeshebe* (*Asparagus Africanus*, a thorn bush); *orubingo* (*Pennisetum purpureum*, elephant grass); and parts of the following plants : *omubuza*, (*Dichrocephala integrifolia*), *rwahera* (*Olderlandia corymbosa*) and *omwetango* (*Chenopodium Album*). These are formed into a bundle and placed on the dry earth near the fire. (If they should be put into water or touched by a person who has recently washed, then they will cause and not prevent rain.) The plants are not arbitrarily selected — their properties either of nomenclature or physical character are such as to prevent rain. *Orushebeshebe* with its thorns would be uncomfortable for the rain to fall upon; the name *omubuza* has also a verbal form, *okubura*, which means to disappear; *orubingo* has the verbal counterpart *okubinga*, to go away. The plant *rwahera* also has a name which can be employed as a verb, *okuhera*, meaning "to go away for good" (it is used when

speaking to naughty children cf. the English "Get out of my sight and stay out.") *Omwetango* has a verbal counterpart, *okutanga*, meaning to stop or prevent. The rain preventer employs these verbal counterparts of his plants in his incantations. The incantation, which is in the form of threats to rain, goes as follows :

Ninkwita ninkwitsa orubingo nirukububinga (infinitive : *okubinga*) *omunsi omu ninkumiza obutaka.* I will kill you with elephant grass and drive you away from here; I will make you disappear into the ground.)
Ninkwitsa omubuza ninkubuza okuhika.
Ninkwitsa rwahera nohera (infinitive: *okuhera*) *eiwagire nobura okugwa, nohinduka omu yaga. Ogu n'omwetango nakutanga* (infinitive: *okutanga*) *ahamuryango, wabura* (infinitive: *okubura*) *obutaho wacweka orwanyanya rwa kamena. Oru n'orushebeshebe rwakucwanyasura wahinduka orujabya barisa. Nakarairira nanka omuhanda gurukwija kunu otariguhabuza.*

The rain is thus threatened with being turned into wind and mist, and the *omwigi* attempts to frighten it away.

The Batoro may similarly threaten or cajole the rain. The *omwigi* may make a bundle of *omunywamazi* (the tree which absorbs water) and of *omuzira njura* (the tree which is hurt by rain), and will thus address the rain : — *Njura ndeka oli mwingi mpa obusinge ganu nomunywamaizi, gunu nomuzira njura:* "Rain, let me be free from you, I have enough water. I have the branches of a tree that absorbs water, and if you fall you will waste your time. I have also the branches of a tree which does not want rain, and if you fall you will hurt that tree."

The Banyoro may address not the rain but the sticks in the bundle, threatening them with dreadful penalties if they allow the rain to fall : —

Iwe rwihura nakihra ondetere enjura bwangu obworaba atagiresere ndakatematema ninkwokya: "Plants, bring rain quickly or I will cut you to pieces."

Iwe muhoko mpe enjura obwotagire ndakatematema barakucumbisa: "Plant, bring rain: if you don't I will make you into fire-wood."

The control exercised by the *omwini wembulla*, the rain man of the more primitive Bakonjo of the Ruwenzori, is more clearly a technique of magic rather than of 'sorcery': there is no presupposition of a spirit to be controlled and influenced; the magician imitates the process of rain-making and expects rain to follow. A connection between wind and rain has been observed, and the operation for causing rain is to blow through a wooden pipe (*omulibu*) upon a white stone. The name of the white stone, *embulla*, is the same as the word for rain.[1]

With such a background of ideas boys come to the geography lesson in the secondary school. Although they learn a new interpretation of natural phenomena, it is not clear that the new interpretation always effectively displaces the old.

Among the Banyoro, Batoro and Banyankole of the middle school (average age : 16; "educational age": 9), who have been familiar with the explanation of rain as caused by the evaporation of water, its cooling and condensation, for at least four years, 33% appear to remain convinced of the rain man's powers. In writing an essay on the cause of rain (as an English exercise, and not as a geography exercise — which would have evoked standard text-book answers) they described the rain-maker's rites without any expression of scepticism. Some confessed to having at some time felt doubts, but had been convinced by witnessing successful rain-making or rain-preventing attempts (e.g. "when I was young I was doubting . . . but now I have proved it.")* But these same

[1] This type of magical process is, of course, familiar to my other Bantu pupils. A middle-school Mutoro recently told me that his bicycle was stolen during the holidays and he went to a witchdoctor who saw the thief's image in a bowl of oil. The witchdoctor let it be known that he intended to pierce the eye of the image, and the thief returned the bicycle, fearing to be blinded. The boy appeared not to doubt that the thief could have been thus blinded.

* A British scientist, a member of the British Museum Expedition to the Ruwenzori 1934–35 was very deeply impressed by the rain man (a Mukonjo): "He had a magic whistle, a metal tube wrapped round with banana leaves. A few blasts from the whistle would keep the rain away. Every morning he would blow it and the clouds would pass. . . An uncanny success seemed to attend his efforts. At his blasts even big black clouds were blown away, and we ourselves almost began to believe . . ." P. M. Synge, "Mountains of the Moon", 1937.

boys are able to answer a geography question on the causes of rain to the satisfaction of any European examiner.

The "western" and the native explanations co-exist and both carry weight in the minds of many boys. 18% of the boys explicitly stated the two explanations as parallel and not contradictory. One boy argued that the actual formation of rain in the sky was due to natural causes, but a witch-doctor could determine whether it should actually fall or not. Perhaps the best example of "double think" occurs in the essay which remarks that from an educated person's point of view, rain is due to the evaporation of water" and concludes: "So I agree that there can be a person who can make rain. And on the education idea, I agree that rain comes from evaporation and then comes down as rain."

49% of the boys rejected without qualification the rain maker's art. 25% of these did so on common sense-grounds — the rain man was a fraud and had been so proved: ("The man who deceived us (i.e. failed to make the rain come) was beaten and expelled from my father's house.") 50% of them rejected the tribal explanation because it was incompatible with western knowledge: "Such people (i.e. the common people who still believe in the *omwigi*) should not be blamed because they have no geographical idea about it;" and: "Those witchdoctor's methods are not now so widely practised because of English or rather educational ideas whose facts are clean and true."

Of those who rejected the old beliefs, 25% did so not because of the authority of western science but because of the authority of western religion. The argument ran : only God can make the rain; or: God makes the rain but the witchdoctor may prevent it from falling.

Those who reject the old beliefs do so less from a perception of their inconsistency with western knowledge than from an appreciation of the sort of belief which it is fitting for an educated man to hold. My junior Bakonjo and Bamba pupils, coming from very primitive tribes which contain a relatively low proportion of educated men, have as much scientific knowledge as the Baganda or Batoro, but have not had the same social education; they have never doubted that the rain-maker has the powers he professes. The Batoro or the Banyankole realize that a profession of such beliefs may lay them open to ridicule — as they will now ridicule the Bamba for entertaining them. They will ridicule but they will not present logical counter-evidence to the Bamba. The acceptance of the new western outlook is far more dependent on the mental and social climate from which the boys come than upon the weight of their scientific knowledge. New views are accepted not when they have proved persuasive to the intellect but when they have been recognized as what is due of advanced and educated people: they will accept knowledge which has gained respectability.

This is particularly so in the case of the belief as to the shape of the earth. Few boys even in the senior school can give reasons satisfactory to themselves or to the teacher for the earth's being a sphere. Those who have accepted this fact have usually done so because they have accepted the prestige of western learning. Boys come from the primary school with an exceedingly confused cosmology. Even though they may have accepted the novel idea that the earth is round, they are deeply puzzled by its suspension in space, and conceive it to be supported by an axis which is not dissimilar in their minds from an axle. Boys in the senior school may still frankly reject the idea that the earth is round — for all but examination purposes.

Over 90% of the boys profess Christianity, and their Christianity further hinders their accepting the scientific view. The Hebrew cosmology which has been presented to them as Christianity has not upset their traditional mental picture of the universe. The Batoro, for example, imagine a flat earth and a heaven (*iguru*, fitting like a bowl over the earth, peopled by creatures with long hair and tails (the *abaana bahaiguru*). *Iguru* is ruled by Ngarwa. Under the earth is a subterranean region with a lake, and here are the Bachwezi. Although these are not the spirits of the dead, they are the ancestors of the Batoro,

the historical light-skinned invaders of Toro now existing as spirits. The Christian geography of Heaven and Hell can be accommodated easily within this pattern with a slight change of terminology. The boys are sincerely puzzled to find a geographical location for Heaven and Hell when the earth is represented to them as a sphere in space.

The Batoro, Banyankole and the Banyoro are accustomed to explaining the facts of physical geography in terms of the activities of the Bachwezi either in their historical occupation of the district or latterly as spirits. Earth tremors and hot springs are explained by the activities of the Bachwezi below the earth's surface; local crater lakes were created by the Bachwezi for watering their cattle. (Such events are established in concrete detail in local lore: a crater lake near Fort Portal is held to be the footprint of a particular Muchwezi; two mounds of earth in the local forest are the breasts of a Muchwezi, Nyinamwiru.) When we present an account of the earth's physical features in terms of the slow, impersonal forces of nature — frost, rain, ice, heat — over the centuries, we are using an unfamiliar idiom. The time-scale is unfamiliar, and the forces have not the compelling immediacy of the action of human beings or creatures bearing a human stamp. The creation of a fiord, the folding of mountains, the weathering of rocks — boys find the explanation of these unconvincing. They wish to see the forces of nature in the image of man — the Banyankole have long felt satisfied with the explanation of rain as the urine of Nyakakaikuru, the little old woman who holds up the skies. Genesis speaks in their own idiom: they feel at home with an account of the fashioning of the earth's physical features in a space of six days.

We can help our pupils and teach them effectively only when we appreciate the difficulties they face. They are not only learning new knowledge but unlearning a great deal of old. The teacher's task in Africa is not only to help his pupils to learn but to make it possible for them to unlearn. It is as important that he should know what to destroy as that he should know what to create.

MORE ABOUT THE MARAVI

T. PRICE

SYNOPSIS

Recent discussions of this term have depended on Chewa material; but Malawi or Marawi is long recorded as a territorial designation in the Shire-Nyasa lowlands. As a 'tribal' name of convenience (like Zanzibari) it was given currency by the Portuguese of the Zambezi, covering Nyanja and Makua speakers now known by various group names locally acknowledged.

Chewa tradition agrees with Portuguese records in giving primacy of some sort to the Karonga succession of chiefs; but allows the importance of the 'ancestress' Nyangu of Marawi, to be overlooked. It makes no mention of the powerful southern groups or the long line of Lundu chiefs. Convergence rather than diffusion may have developed the unity expressed mainly in language and inter-communication.

UP TO THE TIME of Livingstone, European notices of the native peoples of the Nyasa-Luangwa-Lower Zambezi area designated them by some variant of the term "Maravi". Then the combination of the irruptions of Ngoni bandits and Yao slave-raiders on the northern and eastern sides, and the intensification of Portuguese effort against the robber barons (capitães-mores) of the Zambezi, threw the whole area into social confusion. Since then "Maravi" has been an archaic word, not used by local field observers, but by students of the earlier records. The Portuguese investigator, Dr. dos Santos Júnior notes that in his 1943 expedition to the district of Marávia, between the Luangwa and the Zambezi, he did not find any native who recognized Maravi as a term of local application, or who indeed would admit any knowledge of its reference.

It is however a useful possible replacement for the clumsy and increasingly indefinite "Nyanja-speakers", and has been used recently in that sense by Miss Tew in her account of "The People of the Lake Nyasa Region", as well as in articles in this review by Messrs Bruwer and Cullen Young. We can hardly yet assume however that the original value of the designation has been defined, or that it was sufficiently deeply-rooted to revive in the vernacular. No people are known to have called themselves Maravi. Livingstone, as he reaches successive peoples in the "Maravi" country, finds that they are Mang'anja or Chewa, until he turns back on the way to Loangwa of the Maravi, where he would have found only Nsenga.

The northern informants of Messrs Bruwer and Young, who belong to the groups known in recent history as Chewa, Tumbuka, and Tonga, derive Malawi/Maravi from the flame (*-lawi*) like appearance of the low-angle sunlight on some unspecified waters on the line of an ancestral migration from the north. But the first recorded evidence for the designation within the area in which it was current places it on the southern margin, at a time so early that oral tradition is unlikely to be able to ante-date it reliably.

In 1616 the Portuguese backwoodsman Gaspar Bocarro made a celebrated overland journey from Tete on the Zambezi to Kilwa on the coast of Tanganyika Territory of to-day. His account of the trip was recorded at Goa by the official annalist of the Portuguese Government, Antonio Bocarro. Seven days out from Tete, Gaspar visited a chief Muzura in: "the town in which he lives, which is called Maravy."[1] This *cidade* Maravy lay a day's journey from Moromba, which in turn was near "the great river Manganja,

[1] Decada de Ant. Bocarro, ch. CXLV.

or lagoon which looks like the sea, from which flows the river Nhanha which comes to join the Zambezi below Sena."

We have here a remarkable assembly of all the designations for the Bantu population of the Shire area: Maravi, Mang'anja, Nyanja. But they are none of them here so employed. They are used as geographical indicators, ethnically relevant only as showing linguistic continuity in the area over three and a half centuries. The fact that Bocarro records the name Maravy as well as that of Muzura, which in our day would be sufficient to identify the chief's town, suggests that it, like Manganja and Nhanha, designated a physical feature. There are to-day two places called Malawi in Nyasaland. One is a tract on the low ground on the southwestern gulf of Lake Nyasa; the other, the culminating ridge of the Port Herald hills on the right bank of the lower Shire. Which, if either, is Bocarro's Maravy depends on the reading of his route; but there is further evidence that Maravi was Muzura's centre. The padre Manuel Godinho is quoted by Gamitto in his second chapter, as writing in 1663 that the lagoon Zachaf: "which the cosmographers place in 15°50′, is not far from the zimbáue, that is to say court, of Mesura or Marabia."

On the face of it one would say that the Lake Nyasa Malawi is the more probable position for Muzura's town. But Bocarro also observes of Muzura that he was: "the principal native magnate that there is in the lands of Bororo"; while the padre Manuel Barreto only half a century later establishes that topographical reference when he observes that: "on the right bank (of the Zambezi, going upstream, as from Quilimane) as far as Morambala (at the Shire confluence) there extends Bororo, a kingdom subject to the Rundo, the second chief of the Maravi empire."[1]

On this evidence Muzura's country was two hundred miles from Malawi of Lake Nyasa; but the mountain Malawi is the most prominent feature of the north-western outlook from Morambala. At the foot of that Malawi is the thicket of Nkhulubvi, the centre of the rain-cult of Mbona which was supported by Amang'anja of the Shire and by Alolo of Bororo. Lundu survives to-day as a subordinate Native Authority, but Livingstone found him still acknowledged, if scarcely obeyed, as the greatest chief in the lower Shire Valley. The name "Malawi" is said by the people to-day to have been brought to the Lower River from the north, but it is contestable that the Portuguese took the name of the physical feature that they could see to designate the people whose country they did not occupy.

In this period, it was forbidden to trade in firearms with "os maraves"[2] the earliest occurrence of the plural form with a 'tribal' connotation, parallel with the usage, "os macúas", for the people of the hinterland of Mozambique island; but not with "os mocarangas" for the Makalanga of Monomotapa, which preserves a Bantu singular prefix.. There is no known occurrence of the *–lawi* stem with a singular prefix, as there is of singular forms of the tribal names Matebele, Maviti, Makololo. The conclusion is then that "os maraves" was a convenient blanket label by which the Portuguese could designate the dangerous folk on the northern frontier, and that they derived it from the name of the country inhabited by those folk. Since the order regards arming them with guns, which for a remote tribe might mean simply more efficient elephant-hunting and better ivory trade, as a danger to the Portuguese stations, the suggestion here also is that the Malawi concerned is that nearest the settlements.

The Amang'anja who live there to-day hold that the name came from the north with Lundu, and Barreto records that Lundu was only the second chief in the Maravi empire. The question then is, Who was the principal chief? We have to wait for a century before any Portuguese record enlightens us, and then it is only an account based on information picked up at the river trading-posts about the great chief who lived

[1] Os Rios de Cuama, 1667.

[2] Order of, Jan. 20th 1632, by Capt. de Brito Vosconcellos (Archives of Colonial History, Lisbon). Quoted by Santos Junior, Contribuição para o Estudo da Anthropológia de Moçambique.

200 leagues up-country — probably an overestimate which itself is evidence of the unreliability of the account in detail.[1]

This document, of date 1763, tells us that the twelfth Monomotapa was exiled to Marave on account of blindness, a resource which was possible because: "Of a princess, daughter of Manomotapa, espoused to a Maravi chieftain (régulo marave), there was born a child, the first to be called the Emperor Caronga, absolute lord of the lands which the Zambezi cuts off to the north of Quilimane ... and of five crowned kings and twenty-odd chieftains, all powerful. This epithet Caronga is linked with all the Maravi emperors ... Their (Maravi) customs are very different from those of most monarchies on this coast of East Africa, in as much as feminine takes precedence of masculine in everything, in memory of the Monomotapa princess, origin of the first Caronga."

The picture of dynastic alliance by marriage is rather too 18th-century European, and the crowns of the subject kings left no traces by which they might be identified when closer observation of the area became possible. But the area subject to Karonga includes Bororo, thus affirming that the superior of Lundu is likely to have been Karonga; and save for the prominence given to the "Monomotapa princess", the account agrees well with the Chewa (northern Malawi) tradition which Mr. S. Y. Ntara, himself a member of the tribe, has recorded, in his 'Mbiri ya Acewa'.[2]

In this account, the Chewa people came into their present area from the north, under the leadership of a chief called Karonga Chinkhole, on whose death they chose "another Karonga called Chidzonze", who is credited with having established the Chewa permanently in what was to be known for three centuries as the Maravi country. The name Malawi however appears in Chewa tradition only as the name of a district through which Chidzonze's people passed in the course of the wandering of a section of them to the south and east, through Bororo. Each succeeding chief was called Karonga, until the extinction of the chain of authority by an insubordinate mercenary retainer, of the Yao tribe in the middle of the 19th century. The Portuguese statement that the name is a title attached to the "imperial" status is thus justified. In the days before comparative study was possible, the validation value of such a detail in an account is not to be despised.

The Chewa tradition asserts that the great Karonga Chidzonze was son of a woman called Nyangu, also celebrated as ancestress of the senior clan of the Chewa. The clan name in Phiri, "hill". The district Malawi through which the wandering section of the tribe passed in their circuit to the south and east was bounded by a hill or hills called Maereanyangu, which may be translated "Nyangu's bosom", Livingstone [3] mentions that: "... part of the Upper Shire Valley has a lady paramount, named Nyango; and in her dominions (as he was able to verify) women rank higher and receive more respectful treatment than their sisters in the hills"; which is highly reminiscent of the Portuguese observations on feminine dominance.

Nyangu then had close and lasting connection with the Malawi area at Lake Nyasa, where the bearer of the name continued in authority as long as, or longer than, the Karongas did in their place. Livingstone makes no mention of any Karonga potentate, but gives the last central authority to be recognized by the Amang'anja, whom he found verging on anarchy, as Undi. It may be concluded that Nyangu's authority was not wholly derived from Karonga, and it is tempting to see in her the "princess of Monomotapa" who brought imperial prestige to the Karonga chiefship. Her precise relation, if any, to the Kalanga potentates can only be speculated on; but she seems to have introduced a new element into the Karonga lineage.

If Chidzonze was not the first Karonga, he was the most memorable bearer of the epithet. Later successions are accounted for, in the tradition, by inheritance or usurpation; but he was "chosen by the people" without mention of his relation, if any, to his predecessor. The pre-Chidzonze Karongas may well belong to the organization

[1] Notício do Império do Marave .... MS384, Library of the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon.

[2] 2nd edition, enlarged. Mkhoma, Nyasaland, 1951.

[3] Journey to the Zambezi, ch. 5.

whose history is traced by Cullen Young, but that was only one element in the composition of the Maravi. The references of von Sicard [1] to Shona/Sena identities are suggestive of possible other elements.

We have no longer a simple picture of the dispersal of a single dominant stock invading empty country and populating it with a 'pure' strain. The evidence suggests rather the confluence of various strains, all of whose remotest traditions told of migration from the north, but which had by our 16th century differentiated sufficiently to be able to make different contributions to the various regions of the Maravi "empire". Of these, the nearest both to the Kalanga civilization, and later to the Portuguese belt of influence, was the southernmost section, now the Amang'anja, but in all probability the first to be distinguished by imposition of the Maravi name.

The Maravi were apparently identified by their speech, and by their subjection to a central authority. In practice both links seem to have been weak. Malawi or Nyanja speech comprises a range of difference disguised for us by normalised printed texts; but there are phonetic and grammatical characteristics found in the adjacent Yao and Makua languages which Nyanja abjures for any of its dialects. The central authority was not in historical times strong enough to suppress local conflicts or exact due tribute, and finally lost its place in the world because it could not organize effective resistance to invaders. Within the Malawi field trade intercourse was possible, and the young men could undertake the traditional hunting or trading trips before settling down to matrimony, from the Malambo (Luangwa hunting grounds) to the coast.

Though the Chewa Karonga-list comes into the 19th century, the Portuguese explorers Monteiro and Gamitto in the 1830's found the Maravi, including the Chewa, professing to be subjects of Undi, without mention of Karonga; and Livingstone twenty years later was able to write of the Empire of Undi itself as the temporary creation of one outstanding personality which had left only a name which still commanded lip-service, but nothing more. Gamitto ascribes the chiefs' insubordination to the fact that "all were Maravi": Chewa and Chipeta were not conquered and conqueror, commons and nobles, but each as good as the other. Ntara's account of Chewa tradition ascribes this to their common ancestry culminating in the family of Nyangu and the great Karonga Chidzonze.

In the same tradition Undi is another of the sons of Nyangu, appointed by Chidzonze to administer the western Maravi; but the people who admitted responsibility for submitting tribute to him, though in practice they did not do so, were the Mang'anja of the lower Shire. The salience of Karonga in the Maravi constellation of chiefs was apparently not so consistent as Chewa tradition, or the author of the "império do Marave", would have us believe. What then was the position of Lundu, "o Rundo", local magnate of the Shire folk ?

Unlike the other Maravi chiefs, Lundu had subjects, the Alolo, who are not Nyanja-speakers, but rather marginal members of the Makua culture. This is apparently the only ground for assertions that the Maravi included Makua groups, or the more astonishing Portuguese view that the Maravi were only a sub-group of the Makua.[2] But it also suggests that the Maravi complex had other components than the descendants of the people of Karonga. Lundu is not mentioned in the Chewa account, though then Azimba of the Zambezi are derived from the Karonga group, and a section is reported to have traversed what was not so very much later known to be Lundu's country by the Portuguese, who attributed to him a range of sovereignty much wider than that of most of the petty northern chiefs who are remembered in Chewa tradition.

If Lundu was there, yet is not mentioned in Chewa accounts, it is conceivable that it was because his people were not yet counted as Karonga's. Apart from Mang'anja traditions of a

[1] African Studies, Sept. 1950.

[2] Raças, Usos e Costumes dos Indígenas de Moçambique, by A.A. Pereira Cabral. Lourenço Marques, 1925: "Maraves, macondes, lómues e mavias não são que macuas divididos".

northern origin for Lundu, which do not mention Karonga, the other link of Chewa and Mang'anja is through Nyangu at Malawi of Lake Nyasa. We have then the picture, not of the dispersal of a single Chewa stock, but of convergence of at least two groups which developed into what appeared to outside observers as a tribal unit of impressive size. The subordination of Lundu was not that of a cadet of Karonga's stock, but that of a client king. To-day he is the shadow of a name, because the Lundu of the time of the imposition of British authority refused to act for it, and was reduced in status. But his importance in his day indicates the weight of a southern component in the Maravi of the Karonga emperors.

INTONATION IN TONE LANGUAGES

WILLIAM J. SAMARIN

SYNOPSIS

The analysis of tonal phenomena is rendered difficult by the relative levels of pitch and by an apparent lack of system in their occurrence. Recent study has provided a methodology of studying tonal data, which can not be properly described without recognition of intonation. Tonal and intonational phenomena must be distinguished and separately described. African tone languages reveal intonational systems.

THE STUDY of the tonal features of an African language is complicated by the fact that one is not only studying contrastive pitches between series of isolated words, but also the pitches in utterances, complete and independent. In the first case, one can show the existence of three register tonemes (phonemic tones) with three words of the same form class whose only difference is a change in each word in the pitch of one and the same syllable. (This, confessedly, is not incontrovertible evidence.) What complicates the picture is that in sentences one may find not three but five or more pitch levels and various types of contours (or glides). Neatly describing them is often a painstaking task, especially if one does not have the fortune to find minimal pairs (words of the type described above) until late in his study, and failure to describe them results in gross errors. Thus, one might set up five tonemes where only three were valid;[1] one might attribute some of the pitches to the wrong phoneme, describing levels 3 and 4 as allotones (allophones of a toneme, members of the same phoneme) with 5 instead of grouping 2, 3, and 4 as one toneme; one might set up contour tonemes where the contours should be described as non-significant glides between different register tonemes in juxtaposition or even to intonational features (for which see below); and at the most, one might virtually give up by saying, "This language has no system at all!"

Fortunately, linguists have developed the methodology of their science to the extent that such problems are not so acute as they were some years ago. Linguistic literature now provides one with solutions to a number of problems which have already been encountered in African, Amerindian, and Asiatic languages.[2] Two of the most crucial problems have been: 1) how to determine the number and types of tonemes, and 2) how to describe tonal perturbation, both on a phonemic and sub-phonemic level.

Notwithstanding this progress, a vast field of study awaits linguists, namely, that of describing for each tonal language (for whose definition see below) the relation between the tonemic system and that of another tonal system — superimposed on, working with, or modifying the tonemic: this is the intonational.

Some have been too much impressed by the fact that tonal languages were different from non-tonal ones. The distinction was necessary, to be sure; early students of African languages, recognizing the use of different pitches in their own languages — like English, French, Swedish, etc. — tended to make the error of writing off the tonal systems as intonational: "Africans speak their languages with a certain music." The result of this emphasis has been that many have seemed to have set up an either/or presupposition: either a language is tonal or it is intonational. It is time

[1] This may be the case with Ida C. Ward's description of Ibo, *An Introduction to the Ibo Language*. Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, 1936.

[2] A bibliography of such literature is found in Kenneth L. Pike's *Tone Languages*. University of Michigan Publications, Linguistics IV. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1948. For review see *Africa*, XXI: 4 (Oct., 1951), 339–340.

that the analysis of tonal phenomena be refined so as to include both types of phenomena.

It is the purpose of this article to point out that studies of intonation are not only scientifically valid but necessary to the description of a language. Intonation — even in a tone language — may be a means of expression as efficient as lexical forms in another language. Moreover, by ignoring intonation one runs the danger of unnecessarily complicating his description of the tonal phenomena or of not ever arriving at a satisfactory description.

The division of the study of tonal phenomena into that of tonemic (having to do with phonemic tones) and intonemic (having to do with intonation) is a legitimate one. A language is tonal when it is characterized by "having lexically significant contrastive, but relative pitch on each syllable."[1] Languages lacking this feature are therefore non-tonal. However, since no language known to man is spoken in an absolute monotone, all languages can be said to have intonational characteristics. By definition then, intonation has to do with tonal features not restricted to a syllable, but spread over a syllable, phrase, or even sentence. Moreover, such intonation is not lexically significant in that it does not alter the lexical (dictionary) meaning of a word.[2] For example, in English one can have the same intonational pattern on *yes* as on *I'm going to go* which, in the latter case, indicates an "emphatic declaration concerning the subject."[3] The dropping of tone at the end of a sentence and the rising of the tone at a non-final, intra-sentence pause are other characteristic intonational features. An intonational system, however, can become much more complex, not only with respect to the levels of tone and their contours but also with respect to their signification, as in English.[4] This distinction between tonal and intonational data makes conceivable the recognition of intonational patterns in a tone language.

That intonational features have already been discovered in some African tonal languages can be easily substantiated. In these languages an intoneme (significant intonational pattern) is often characteristic of declarative or interrogative sentences. In Moré (or Mole, the language of the Mossi), for example, there seems to be a special high tone superimposed on the other tonemes, the function of which is to indicate interrogation, for it is said that "there is a higher tone carried throughout the sentence which indicates it to be a question . . . In conversation this higher tone is used more than final *bi* with high tone which turns a statement into a questioned form."[5] The same type of contrast obtains for Hausa in which there are at least "two tone phrase contours, the narrative and interrogative."[6] Nida cites Nghbaka to show that "in many of the Sudanic languages which have three registers there is quite an abrupt falling off of phrases in normal discourse," e.g. *à tē wà fòē* (he is weeding the garden) in which "the final mid tone . . . is actually lower phonetically than the initial low tone, for the entire sentence descends in pitch."[7] Chichewa seems to demonstrate significant intonational patterns, for Watkins says that tonal variations involve "not only the mechanics of phonology and morphology, i.e. morphology as pure symbolism subject merely to the nature of its reference, but also certain concomitant attitudes and interests."[8] More extensive seems to be the part of intonation in Kikuyu in which sentences of question, request, and address are said to differ from those of assertion and command. "The range of

[1] Pike, *Tone Languages*, p. 3.

[2] J. P. Vinay is speaking of intonation when he says "les variations de tons relevées peuvent être . . . des variations découlant de l'intonation générale de la phrase n'entrainant ni changement, ni précision dans le sens. C'est le cas de langues européennes qui se servent de tonèmes . . ." "Déclinaisons tonales du Bas-Ouellé," *Journal de la Société des Africanistes*, XI (1941), 223. His use of the word toneme is different from that of this article.

[3] Eugene A. Nida, *Learning a Foreign Language*, p. 120. New York: Foreign Missions Conference of North America, 1950.

[4] Consult Kenneth L. Pike, *The Intonation of American English*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1945.

[5] John F. Hall, *Dictionary and Practical Notes: Mossi-English Languages*, p. 16. Christian and Missionary Alliance Mission, c.n.d.

[6] Carlton T. Hodge, *An Outline of Hausa Grammar*, p. 15. Language Dissertation number 41. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1947.

[7] Nida, *ibid.*

[8] Mark Hanna Watkins, *A Grammar of Chichewa*, p. 17. Baltimore: Linguistic Society of America, 1937.

intonation is greater in these forms and falling tones appear to be essential to all of them,"[1] e.g. *ti moroo$\check{o}$i* (1, 1, 1, 3) It's not a lion, *ti moroo$\check{o}$i* (1, 1, 1, 4-falling) Isn't it a lion?[2] Examples of intonational patterns could also be cited from Lingala,[3] Igala,[4] and Maninka.[5]

Although in general Armstrong confused tonemic and intonemic features in using the same symbols to indicate both (see below), she did symbolize three other intonational phenomena with separate marks. She uses an arrow pointing up to indicate "that from this point onwards the tones are slightly higher than usual," which, as she should have pointed out, follow an interjection, *he?* (1-falling) why, bless me![6] An arrow pointing down indicates "that from this point onwards the tones are slightly lower than usual," which, as she should have pointed out, occurs only at the end of a story.[7] An asterisk indicates a very high pitch which occurs at the end of a story in conjunction with an elongated exclamation of joy following the sentence, "the women raise their voices in joy: . . ."[8]

Another reason for studying intonational phenomena is that failure to distinguish between the tonemic and intonemic systems leads to exaggerated complexities. One will mark more tone levels than are necessary if one does not realize, for example, that in a particular language every final tone of sentence-final words drops in pitch. In such a case, where there are really only three register tonemes, one will find oneself marking six, to which would be added falling-contours for each level. This is the error that Armstrong makes in marking the interrogative tonal fall.

Armstrong's description would have been much neater (and briefer) had she first described the tonemes. This description would involve indicating their number and types. In this section would be discussed all the allotones. For example, (and all of this is hypothetical), high toneme might have two levels of pitch, the lower level following low tone and the higher level occurring elsewhere. Low tone might have two allotones, a rising-contour occurring only before high tone and the other allotone occurring elsewhere. These would be discussed under each toneme, for they are subphonemic, automatically conditioned variants. This must not be confused with phonomechanic changes, that is, tonal perturbations on a phonemic level wherein a toneme (consisting of all its allotones) is automatically "affected" by some environment. For example, high toneme might automatically be substituted for mid whenever it followed a succession of two high tones. In all of these instances, the variations need not be marked in the grammar, dictionary, or text, all of which are in phonemic script, the rules for the phonetic variations having already once for all been given. There are, however, tonal variations on a morphological level. For example, monosyllabic noun stems of one class might have only high-tone or low-tone stems. Preceding a certain suffix some of the high-tones would become mid and other high-tones would remain high; such instances are cited whenever pertinent in the body of the grammar.

Intonation should be discussed under a separate heading, for its description is on the basis of phonemic data. It is enough to describe the intonational patterns with their distribution and symbolism. For example, it is here that one mentions the fact that any syllable-final tone in a sentence-final word drops to level of low-tone to indicate interrogation, or whatever the case may be. The symbol, moreover, would be a question-mark. Once this is said, no other mention need be made.

With all of this tonal data being discussed in the initial part of the description of the language, the rest will be neat and concise, meeting the requirements of scientific analysis.

[1] Lilias E. Armstrong, *The Phonetic and Tonal Structure of Kikuyu*, p. 48. London : Oxford University Press, 1940.

[2] Armstrong, pp. 56–57. The numbers stand for four levels of tone, 1 being the highest and 4 the lowest.

[3] Malcolm Guthrie, "Tone Ranges in a Two-Tone Language (Lingala)", *Bulletin of the School of the Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, X (1940–42), p. 471.

[4] W. T. A. Philpot, "Notes on the Igala Language," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, VII (1935), p. 902.

[5] William E. Welmers, "Tonemes and Tone Writing in Maninka," *Studies in Linguistics*, VII (1941).

[6] Armstrong, p. xviii, 325.

[7] Armstrong, p. xviii, 335.

[8] Armstrong, p. 353.

DEATH AND BURIAL CUSTOMS OF THE BAPEDI OF SEKUKUNILAND

L. LONGMORE

SYNOPSIS

These burial customs relate to the Bapedi of olden times who are found to-day in what is known as Sekukuniland, a large area in the central and northern Transvaal. Preparations for burial and disposing of the body are discussed giving varying details for the burials of commoners and chiefs. A chief is always buried with at least two of his councillors, but his death is kept a secret for many months after burial. The customs observed by widows and the feasts prepared at times of death and the various ritual precautions taken to remove the harmful effects of death are also described.

A WOMAN school teacher from Sekukuniland, herself of Pedi stock, related the following account to me of death and burial customs of olden times which are still practised by many heathens in the northern Transvaal even to-day.

If a man or a woman is very sick, old women and men are called to stay with the sick person. They do not go away until he dies. When an individual is very sick, they do not allow him to sleep. He must sit upright in a crouching position, that is, the knees are brought up almost to the shoulders. Now when he has given up the whole ghost (dies), they tie him with *lekwape*, a string of a certain tree called *Moselaphala*. These Bantu people never used to tell children that a person had died, but the phrase used was "*o jelwe ke phiri*" which means the wolf has eaten him (the deceased).

The dead body is put at *ufundu*, that is, behind the door. Then everything which is in the hut is taken out. An ox is slaughtered, which must be black in colour. The skin of this ox will be used for covering the deceased. The meat is called *nama ya mohu* (an ox slaughtered for the deceased).

The meat of the slaughtered black ox or *nama ya mohu* is never cooked. It is roasted and eaten without salt. It is always eaten without salt by the married men and women.

These Bantu people are never buried during the day. They are buried at night. They take the skin of the ox, *mokgapa* (Pedi), *igumbi* (Nguni), and put it in the centre of the hut. Then they take the deceased and put him in the centre of *mokgapa*, with which they begin to cover him. There was never any cemetery. People were buried along the fence, *lekgora*, surrounding the homestead, outside at the back. They open *lekgora* at the back of the homestead or village. When they remove the deceased they do not use *sefeko* or *kxoro*, that is, the main gate, but the corpse is taken through the opening which has been made in *lekgora*.

The grave was round and called *sefifi*. When they reach it two men go into *sefifi* and put the corpse in, in a crouching position with feet drawn up to the chin and arms parallel to the body. They then put in all kinds of seeds, for example, mealie seeds, bean seeds, and so on, for they believe it brings bad luck not to do so, and that the deceased should get crops as before. They do not use spades but *mangetana* (broken pieces of earthen pots) for putting back the soil. When they have finished covering the grave the women bring water in a big *lengeta* (a big piece of broken earthen pot). They wash their hands on top of the grave. When they have finished they break

lengeta over the grave and the water falls on the grave. Whereupon these women start to cry — a prolonged lamentation. "Yo!... Yo!... Yo!..."

If the deceased is a child it is buried at the verandah of the hut, that is, *mathudi*. Before they cover the grave the mother of the child pushes soil into the grave with her buttocks, because she must not touch the soil of the grave with her hands. A female relative takes a stone and the mother puts saliva on it, but it is the relative who puts it into the grave. Then all the people take ground and toss it into the grave. After that the men can cover the grave.

If a chief is to be buried they do not say "*o jelwe ke phiri*" (which is used only for ordinary people), but they say "*mabu a utswitše*" (the soil is stolen), which means the chief is dead. He is buried in the middle of the cattle kraal, *lesaka*. Two *batseta*, that is, councillors, were killed. It is said "*ba aletša kxosi*", that is, they are used as the mat of the chief. After he is buried the indunas guard the grave for about two months.

If a chief falls ill all his councillors begin to be frightened because they do not know who will be killed. The day he passes away no one is killed, but on the day he is buried the two councillors must also die. Very often they take the chief's best friends, his favourites, to accompany him. Their wives are not told, but they see for themselves after two months following the burial, because from the day they bury the chief the councillors do not sleep at home, but remain guarding his grave for two months without seeing women. They go to the chief's place where he died, and the wives of the chief cook for them and give them food. When a wife of a councillor asks at the end of the time they will say "*o felesedítše kxosi*" (he has accompanied the chief). Then the wife will not cry. She will simply keep quiet. Only the councillors and close relatives know when a chief is dead. The tribe as a rule and people from far away may not know for a year or more that the chief is dead. It is kept as a secret.

When a man is dead the wife takes off all her beads and *maseka*, that is, bangles. Then they smear her with *ka mosidi* (charcoal), which they grind and mix with fat. The female relatives remove hair from the middle of their heads shaping a round bald patch. They say "*ba ntša moya*" (they take out hair). The wife of the deceased does not cut any hair. If she meets people when on her way to the fields or river she cries loudly, or she bends or kneels down. After two months the widow makes what is called *ho tlosa sithšila*, that is to remove the hair. The in-laws say the widow should cut her hair now. They agree on such and such a day that all the relatives should be called and then her father-in-law will say "*re tlosa sithšila*" (we remove the hair). After all the relatives have been called they make beer — *ba titiyela byalwa*. Then they make a big feast but no ox is slaughtered. They then cut the hair of the widow and her children, *ba beolwa*, with a *lehare*, an African razor. The wife and children *ba phalolwa*, that is, they remove all their hair so that their heads are bald and shiny. The relatives only remove hair on the sides, *badira tlopo*, at this second hair-removing ceremony.

After the hair-shaving ceremony the widow is allowed to visit people. She can go anywhere. She is also given a man on that day, "*o kxebelwa monna*" a relative of her deceased husband, a brother or an uncle, in most instances.

On that day men bring their sharpened spears. They drink beer in the cattle kraal. This beer is called *umncamo* or *moroto*. A witch-doctor is called to give the medicines so that another death should not occur, *ho theka motse*. Then the wife is given medicines, *ho hlapa*, that is, to remove all bad luck so that when she meets another man *sefifi* is all gone.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

The Southern Lunda and Related Peoples, M. McCulloch. International African Institute. 110 p. + Map. London. 1951. 8/6.

This study falls under *West Central Africa* and is Part I thereof of the Ethnographic Survey of Africa prepared by the *International African Institute* with a grant from the Colonial Development Fund. "The aim of the Ethnographic Survey is to present a concise, critical and accurate account of our present knowledge of the tribal groupings, etc., of the African peoples." To what extent this aim is achieved may be gathered from the fact that 13 pages are devoted to the Southern Lunda and Ndembu who number about 63,000, 12 to the Chokwe and Minunga who total more than 600,000, 12 to the Luena, Luchazi, Luimbe and Mbunda and 9 to the Nkoya-Mbwela peoples. In addition, the words: "no information is available in these matters" or words to that effect, occurring on sixteen pages, is a measure of ignorance and vitiates any claims to accuracy. Furthermore there is such constant reference to Mr. White's MSS. or personal communication that one wonders why Mr. White was not invited to undertake the task.

Mr. McCulloch makes the best of the material available. It is interesting to note that: "with the introduction of a money economy the power of the village head has greatly decreased (p. 28)." Dr. Field in her monograph, *Social Organization of the Ga People* made much the same observation: "Money always spoils respect (p. 218)." The social background of these people is a matrilineal inheritance with a patrilocal residence now changing to a patrilineal, patrilocal state, consequently on divorce the children go with their mother.

The people are mentioned as owning cattle but the type is not stated. Such a point is relevant as indicating a culture contact from which much could be learnt.

It appears that among these people two systems of maintaining order exist. One, where the social structure relies on the pressure of public opinion to get decisions enforced and the other on a legal system with law as being what the Chief's court will enforce. Thus one reads that a complainant may take his complaint to numerous *ngaji*. Each "hears the case, pronounces sentence, but has no power to enforce judgment" (p. 49). This inability to enforce judgment is characteristic of independent, autonomous units who therefore have no law. It seems however, that their chiefs either derive from some foreign invader or have aped such invaders, for one finds that a complainant after consulting various *ngaji* takes his case "to the chief, who alone can enforce a sentence." Here is another instance of "law coming with the coming of the kings."

It is also interesting to note that the Luena tradition of origin is that they were originally food gatherers among whom the decision of an elder could not be enforced, being organized and welded into a tribe under a chief by a foreigner coming from the Luba dynasty and thus inaugurating the rule of law among them.

In the section on religious and magical beliefs one is pleased to see that the teaching of Evans-Pritchard on the difference between magic and witchcraft is bearing fruit. McCulloch does not confuse them. It is interesting to note that these people, like the Sotho group in South Africa, have only one word for magic and for witchcraft. Generally in Negro Africa two distinct words are used. The term *muloyi* and its variants is widely spread in Africa and indicates that all have derived from a single source. The trial by ordeal that goes with it is in many places the drinking of a decoction from the bark of the *Erythrophleum guineense*. McCulloch writes: "The mwaji poison used is a vegetable substance obtained from the root of a tree." What tree? If this tree is also an *Erythrophleum* then here is further evidence of

learnt behaviour that derives from a common source.

The similarity in terminology and function between some of these magico-religious beliefs with those of the Ibo of Nigeria is curious.

Concept	*Ibo*	*Lunda*
Supreme Being	Chuku	Suku (p. 72)
Guardian Spirit	Chi	Muka Shi (p. 75)
Ancestral Image	Chi	Nyiki shi (p. 75)
Sacred tree	Ogilisi	Manyambo (p. 75)

What is of great interest is the recent invention of new origins of spirit causation of diseases which are now attributed to Luchaze immigrants: to Chokwe and Ovimbindu imigrants: to aeroplanes.

To account for this new orientation McCulloch writes: "It may be suggested that this is in part a resolution of the old ambivalent attitude towards ancestors, shown in the respect paid to them as protectors of the community on the one hand, and on the other hand in the fear of their manifestation."

Does this suggestion mean anything? The change has come about because of "the power of the word". "Tis but saying so makes it so." Man is extremely gullible. The Nganga proclaims these new sources because the old were more or less discredited. Just as in Christianity the "Fear of Hell" is no longer stressed as is the "loss of the presence of God."

The treatment meted out to twins by the Chokwe (p. 85) indicates that Chokwe twins are given special stereotyped names but no mention is made of this point.

The Map is good. The monograph reveals how little is known about these people, nearly a million strong.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

Ethnographic Survey of Africa: East Central Africa. Part II. Edited by DARYLL FORDE. (I) "Bemba and Related Peoples of Northern Rhodesia" by Wilfred Whiteley, with a contribution on the Ambo by B. Stefaniszyn, S. J. and (II) "Peoples of the Lower Luapula Valley." by J. Slaski. (International African Institute, London. 1951). 100 pp., maps, bibliography. 9/6*d*.

Professor Daryll Forde, editor of this series of publications states that 'the aim of the Ethnographic Survey is to present a concise, critical and accurate account of our present knowledge of the tribal groupings, distribution, physical environment, social conditions, political and economic structure, religious beliefs and cult practices, technology and art of the African peoples.'

The survey provides a useful framework upon which to base future fieldwork undertakings in that it throws into sharp relief those areas that require field research. Each volume — comprising a compilation from existing works — attempts to provide a synthesis of the ethnography of the different regions of Africa. This volume concerns a number of peoples in Northern Rhodesia and the adjoining area of the Belgian Congo, most of whom speak various dialects of the "Bemba" language.

There are limitations inherent in the survey which provides at best a superficial insight into the tribes covered, but there is no doubt that such shortcomings are due to the inadequacy of the materials with which the authors have had to work.

For a quick perspective of the ethnic groups in Africa in the light of our present knowledge this survey is a prerequisite for all social anthropologists and for that matter all administrators, mission societies, and other whose field of work and study embraces Africa and its inhabitants.

L. L.

Studies in Kikuyu Grammar and Idiom, A. R. BARLOW Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland, Edinburgh; 1951: xii + 269, pp. price 10/-.

This is a second edition, after nearly 40 years, of Barlow's "Tentative Studies", published in 1914. During this time various attempts have been made to settle on an agreed orthography for Kikuyu, and much advance has been made in knowledge of the language: particularly has the phonetic and tonal structure been analysed in a large work by the late Lilias Armstrong. Barlow, in this edition, uses a revised orthography; but though he has made alterations and considerable additions to his earlier work, as he says in his preface, 'it would have been better had this book been recast in accord with more modern methods'. To do this much terminology would have been altered: 'case' for instance dropped. Despite Armstrong's work, tone has but the slightest reference here. Further improvement would have been effected had conjunctive word-division been introduced — 'prepositions' then would have been rightly treated as formatives, mainly adverbial.

Barlow's 'bunching' of the noun classes, mainly excusable, is however quite incorrect in regard to the 'mu-group', in which Bantu classes 1 and 3 are treated together. In noun prefix and general concord they are similar, but the author has overlooked the serious difference between them in the case of the absolute pronouns (Cl. 1, *we;* Cl. 3, *guo*) and of the objectival concord (Cl. 1, *mũ–;* Cl. 3, *ũ–*).

On p. 38 we feel that the author could have worked out rules for the seeming variation of the negative verb formation; roughly when the subjectival concord is a plain vowel, *ũ–*, *a–* or *ĩ–*, *nd–* is prefixed thereto, when it is consonant + vowel (e.g. *tũ–*, *mũ–*, *ma–*, *ka–*) or the other *i–* (of Bantu classes 8 and 10) the formative *–ti–* is inserted.

Kikuyu is an extremely interesting type of Bantu. Dahl's Law is in operation here; and by it a *k* is a formative, when followed in the next syllable by an unvoiced explosive (*c*, *t*, *th*, *k*), becomes voiced, thus : *gacuba* (*ka–* class), *gũtiga* (*ku–* class, *tũgathũ* (future tense with infix *–ka–*). Another interesting feature is that the defective monosyllabic verb *–rĩ* functions both for 'be' (copulative) and for 'have' (conjunctive), though its use in conjunction with *na–* is also found (see p. 47).

There is much valuable information in this book. A very detailed treatment of the verb is given. The book is conveniently divided into two parts, the first being designed for beginners, with grammar graded and exercises; while the more formal and systematic grammar is relegated to the second part.

The very reasonable price of 10/– (from the C. M. S. Book Shop, Nairobi) is due to the fact that this book has been subsidised.

C. M. D.

Insects as Human Food, F. S. Bodenheimer W. Junk, The Hague; 1951, 352. pp. 10 fl.

This is a world survey of insect-eating, particularly by primitive people. It is an eye-opener to the uninitiated to find how widespread the eating of insects is, and the author has probed a tremendous literature on the subject, as his bibliography of 20 pages containing more than 500 items attests. He discusses the reasons for insect-eating, food-shortage, need for proteins and fats, desire for delicacies, and normal food habits. A vast amount of interesting information and detail is given.

The title of the book seems a little misleading, for large sections are given to details of honey collecting — the eating of an insect product, and not of the insect itself, except incidentally when the young bees are consumed with the comb. The fullest and most rewarding chapters to read are those which deal with Australia and with Africa. The eating of locusts and flying termites is generally well known, but much valuable information is given in the Australian chapter regarding the witchetty grubs, the collection of bugong moths, honey-pot ants (with distended abdomens of sweet juice), the honey bags of Australian bees, and leop manna — an excretion, not an insect.

The African material deals with honey hunting and cultivation, the trapping of termites, the use of locusts, and the marketing of insects, locusts, caterpillars, etc., such as is to be found in the

Ivory Coast. The numbers and varieties of subsidiary insects eaten at different seasons are remarkable: spiders, scorpions, water-beetles, dung-beetles, body vermin, etc. etc. Methods of preparation, and analysis of food value in calories are given. The book is a mine of information on this subject.

But there are serious defects in the presentation of this information. The amount of repetition of phenomena in place after place is most tiring to a reader. All the details necessary to substantiate a thesis are set out in full, when careful selection and reference would have made the book more readable. Many of the quotations are translated from originals in languages other than English, and the English presented is often very unidiomatic. There has been serious lack of care in preparing the MS. for the printer, or else printer's errors have not been corrected — such are to be found on almost every page. As examples: p. 116, *extruding* for *exuding*, *wich* for *which;* p. 119, *native* for *natives*, *recognose* for *recognise;* p. 120, *agreable* (twice); p. 140, *bask* for *bark*, *streight* for *straight;* p. 155, *wich* for *which*, (1.19) fullstop for comma, *Zonga* for *Zouga;* and *Kolobeng* is not in Angola. Tribal references have often not been carefully checked: p. 151, *Meshonos* for *Mashona* (*Shona*); p. 182, *Bakoanda* for *Bakaonde* (*Kaonde*). What have "the forests of the Amazon" to do with Kilimanjaro on p. 180? Who are "the Kaffirs of S. Africa", referred to on the same page? On p. 184, *!goin-!goin* is quoted without the click sign.

One feels that the value of this book would have been enhanced if it had been reduced by a half, presented in fluent English, and correctly proof-read. C. M. D.

Kuanyama Ambo Folklore, E. M. Loeb Anthropological Records 13 : 4, University of California Press, 1951, 289–335 pp. 50 cents.

Dr. Loeb has done a service in collecting and presenting these specimens of folk tales, songs, proverbs and riddles. In this way anthropological research is of great value to students of linguistics and literature. The few folk tales given, in the vernacular text and translation are interesting in that some of them show comparative affinities with general Bantu folk lore, while others seem unique in motif and treatment. In the story of *Nehova*, where the theme of the slave girl substituting for the bride is dealt with, the most interesting thing is that the name of the accompanying cow is *Mbulu;* this is the name of the deceiving impersonator in the corresponding Zulu tale, in which *imbulu* signifies a fabulous lizard and is alternatively called *imbulukazana.* A comparative study of this theme in Bantu languages should yield valuable results. Some of the songs are of special interest, those dealing with prophetic themes, and the war songs. The incidence of poetic tendencies in various Bantu languages is another subject that would repay careful research.

C. M. D.

Relational Patterns of Kampala. Edwin S. Munger. 1951. University of Chicago Department of Geography. 1951. *Chicago* 165 pp. $2.

The literature about the people and problems of Uganda is so unsatisfactory that one is disposed to welcome almost any contribution to it. Dr. Munger is an American geographer who studied on the spot the web of relationships between Kampala and "the world outside its urban area." He believes that this type of study is now needed. We know a good deal about the impact of Europe on Africa; what we need to know more about is the process whereby external influences are filtered through an urban relay centre to the rural hinterland. To make his picture of the town, Dr. Munger employs 44 good photographs, 18 maps, and various tables and charts. He gathered facts assiduously and he piles them up in one page after another. Unfortunately, a pile of bricks does not make a house; nor does the mere collection of facts contribute much to the social sciences. Surely geography need not be quite as bloodless as this study. A little warm humanity might have deepened our insight into the heart of Uganda.

J. L.

Index of Southern Rhodesia Native Case Law. Compiled by N. J. BRENDON. Native Affairs Department. Salisbury: 1950. 35 pp.

Mr. Brendon, who is an administrative officer at Nuanetsi, has done the useful job of indexing the Reports of the Southern Rhodesia Native Appeal Court. The few leading cases decided by the High Court of the colony have also been included. Mr. Brendon has really written a head-note or terse summary of each case and grouped them in suitable categories. The result shows that the courts, as one would expect, are concerned mainly with matrimonial affairs, *lobolo*, the custody of children, problems of inheritance, and questions of proper procedure. Legal practitioners and students of African Native law in its comparative aspects will be grateftul for this work. J. L.

Social Anthropology, E. E. EVANS-PRITCHARD vii + 134. pp. Cohen & West Ltd. London 1951. 8/6

Professor Evans-Pritchard belongs to what to-day the Americans call the British school of Social Anthropologists. This school has deservedly been attacked recently by Professor Murdock, who lists seven reasons for dissatisfaction. What these reasons are need not concern us here. Professor Firth, objects to the American attitude that lumps all British Social Anthropologists into one school. He shows that if there is such a school it is divided against itself. Thus Professor Forde regards Social Anthropology as a science while Professor Evans-Pritchard finds it difficult to make up his mind. On page 48 he writes: "It is the task of the scientist, the social anthropologist, to discover their functions (i.e. of institutions) in the social systems to which they belong." While on page 7 he writes: " . . . there is a broad division of opinion between those who regard social anthropology as a natural science and those, like myself, who regard it as one of the humanities." This same lack of clarity becomes apparent when one tries to find out how Evans-Pritchard differentiates between social anthropology and sociology. The laws of science do not apply to the humanities in general and to social anthropology in particular. What then can apply to the humanities ? Long ago Professor Maitland hit the nail on the head when he said that the time would come when Anthropology would have the choice of being history or being nothing.

But Professor Evans-Pritchard, dominated by the influence of Radcliffe-Brown and of Malinowski, shies like a restive horse at the mere mention of history. He remarks that "when ethnologists attempt to reconstruct the history of primitive peoples, for whose past historical records are lacking, they are compelled to rely on inferences from circumstantial evidence to reach their conclusions, which, in the nature of the case, can never be more than probable reconstructions." Law is not a science but a humanity, yet every murder case is a reconstruction of the history of what happened and even though historical records are lacking, the murderer is hanged. It is amusing to find a social anthropologist scorning the canons of legal evidence that His Majesty's judges find impeccable. I fail to see why Professor Evans-Pritchard should reject the historical approach. The essence of history is:

> "*To win the mighty secrets of the past*
> *And turn the keys of time*",

and as such is also the essence of the humanities. One can but attribute this distaste to the historical approach as a carry-over of Malinowski's unscientific attitude when he subscribed to Henry Ford's famous aphorism: "History is Bunk."

Professor Evans-Pritchard avoids the decision as to whether Social Anthropology is a science or a branch of history by saying: "For me social anthropology is an art." So one is then faced with an artist's interpretation of social structure.

Briefly, Evans-Pritchard is concerned only with the here and now, studying how society functions at the moment of observation gives a flat, snapshot effect, forgetting that the dead hand of the past dominates the living.

Drawing the distinction between sociology and social anthropology, Evans-Pritchard remarks: "The Social Anthropologist studies societies as

wholes. He studies their oecologies, their economics, their legal and political institutions . . . etc. as parts of general social systems. The sociologist's work on the other hand, is usually very specialized, being a study of isolated problems, such as divorce, crime, insanity, labour unrest, and incentives in industry." (p. 11).

This distinction fades completely when one is informed that the following bits and pieces specialized studies, all come under the aegis of Social Anthropology. "Delict in primitive law; A comparative study of the forms of slavery; Systems of land tenure among the Bantu of East Africa: The function of bridewealth in selected African societies; A study of inter-state boundary litigation in Ashanti." Further on Evans-Pritchard remarks that 'social anthropology . . . has defined its subject-matter as social relations, rather than culture . . .' (p. 40). It is little wonder that honest Dr. Hilda Kuper wrote: 'No sharp distinction can be drawn between Social Anthropology and Sociology."

The discussion on social structure is neither clear nor concise. There is a difference between social structure and social organization which is not made. The social organization is the discipline of the family writ large. One does not slay one's kin: the social structure is the ordered pattern of living together accepted by extended families, lineages or groups of socially organized units, where the killing of a member may not be sanctioned.

Tabu is a function of the social structure, not of the social organization. Lobolo, where it exists is a function of the social organization not of the social structure.

The functional study of the kingship on the lines laid down by Evans-Pritchard would never lead us to the insight and function of it that the work of Hocart on the historical and comparative studies of this institution has given us. There is nothing in the functional studies of the British School of Social Anthropology to compare with the illumination that Hocart's work has bestowed on Cultural Anthropology: the very methods and techniques laid down for the study of societies is in the end stultifying; one gets the dreary monotony of reading the same things on the same lines as has been happening in the spate of monographs on kinship systems.

The best chapter in the book is No. V, *Modern Anthropological Studies* where he shows how field studies are planned to throw light on problems. So far most of the problems are static ones : the problems of diffusion appear to be tabu. They would introduce the element of time and hence of history into modern studies and for this reason much of the modern anthropological work is barren of results.

The book, however, shows that all is not well with British Anthropology. It should be in the book case of all anthropologists.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

CORRESPONDENCE

Gargunnock,
Stirlingshire,
21 April, 1952.

The Malawi People in Central Africa

Sir,

There has come from the Nyasaland-Rhodesia Publications Bureau a Book in the vernacular of the Cewa People which is going to be of superlative value to all interested in Bantu history. It is the work of a member of the African staff of the Dutch Mission in Nyasaland who is already known through two smaller volumes — *Nthondo* and *Nchowa* — dealing with village life from the point of view respectively of man and of woman. The former — as "Man of Africa" — has gone through more than one edition in an English translation. Now Mr. Samuel Nthara, after years of patient work, offers in *Mbiri ya aCewa* a remarkably full record of traditional history covering — by my tentative calculation — some 300 years of migration & dispersion which to-day weaves itself in and out among tribal areas as far separated as Southern Tanganyika & Barotseland in one direction and as the Muchinga Mountains and Portuguese Zambezi in another. The number of persons interested in local historical research throughout that large area has been growing of late as the hints of linkage in a somewhat distant and hazy past have also been growing. We have now here a compendium of indigenous tradition, uncovering within one volume of some 170 pages the possible picture of a human story within which all these hints of linking belong. How far Nthara's work will be usable by all the interested research workers may depend on whether or not an English version can be made available, but that is a matter for decision later. My purpose for the moment is, while publicising the fact of this book's appearance, to make some comment as much with a view to indicate what it does *not* provide as to advertise what it does.

I think I can best indicate by analogy what it is that we now possess through Nthara's quiet personal labours. We have, as it were, the first aerial survey of a vast terrritory filled with mountain ranges, deep valleys, wide plains every yard of which offers itself for exploration at ground level in order to discover whether or not it *is* what it appears to be; a vast territory through which flow or trickle streams of human movement all, apparently, stemming from an ancient river out of the north. Into that area, with this book in hand and open at the relative chapter, there must now go — at a score or more different points and among as many different versions of what seems like a common type of speech — the men or women available for scrutiny, the weighing of evidence, and eventual joint conference.

And it is not merely the historian who is concerned. The sociologist finding here the broad and obvious trail of an early matriarchy with all that flows from that; the ethnologist struggling through the maze of pedigrees made so exasperating by the descent of Title (female as well as male) through Name without indications when any one of the name has died and another succeeded so that things done over a century seem all to have been the activity of one person, seemingly immortal; the student of religious beliefs finding here the *chauta* divinity-attribute installed in a female at certain sacred centres, with an entourage of serving maidens styled "the brides of god"; all of these are going to praise and be grateful for this work of Samuel Nthara.

Our greatest tribute to him will be the commencement of serious research towards corroboration, or otherwise, of his Malawi thesis.

Yours sincerely
CULLEN YOUNG.

The Editor
African Studies,

It has been with the greatest interest that I read this article "LOBOLO IS CHILD - PRICE" in the December issue of African Studies. I am in total agreement with the conclusion regarding the function of *lobolo* in African society and have always maintained that the deeper meaning of this custom does not coincide with marriage as such.

Indeed, in 1948, after a missionary sojourn of approximately 16 years in Northern Rhodesia where I had ample time to study both the matrilinial Chewa and patrilinial Ngoni I wrote the following while dealing with the Chewa:

"In hierdie uiteindelike opeising van die *mbumba* of kinders voortgebring deur baarvermoë le m.i. die basiese verskil tussen die skakeldankgif (cimalo) van die moederregtelike Acewa en die ewewigswaarborg (lobolo) van die patriliniale stamme. Eersgehoemde bewaar die groepsewewig deur voorkeur-huwelike, terwyl laasgenoemde deur die oordrag van roerende goedere eiendomsreg oor die kinders (die resultaat van baarkrag) bekom." (Die Gesin onder die Moederregtelike Acewa. Bls. 87)

Althouth I am not altogether happy about the term *Child-price* I am indeed very glad that there has been given us in concentrated form that which I believe to be the truth about *lobolo*.

Yours sincerely,
J. BRUWER,
Senior lecturer in social anthropology
University of Stellenbosch.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

DR. S. BIESHEUVEL is Director, National Institute for Personnel Research of the S.A. Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, Johannesburg.

REV. LYNDON HARRIES is a lecturer in Swahili at the School of Oriental and African Languages, University of London.

MR. F. MUSGROVE is a member of the Uganda Education Service since 1950.

MR. T. PRICE is a lecturer in the Department of African Studies, University of Glasgow.

MR. WM. J. SAMARIN, student of linguistics from the University of California, is now a missionary in Western Oubangui-Chari, French Equatorial Africa.

MISS L. LONGMORE is a lecturer in African Life in the Department of Bantu Studies, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.